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TWELFTH CENTURY CHARACTERS AND CHARACTERISTICS

By
MARTHA J. ROSS TEEL

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The Four Seas Press
Boston, Mass., U.S.A.

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INTRODUCTION

HAVING consulted three of the largest public libraries of the United States, but finding, greatly to my surprise, nothing in one work on this remarkable period of the world's history, incomparably more interesting and unique to my mind than the thirteenth century, and altogether more so than any other of the middle ages, I found myself enthusiastically gathering together a multitude of facts bearing on the intellectual, aesthetic, and religious life of this twelfth century, at the same time dwelling at some length on some of the principal characters of that period. I now venture to give the result of my study to the public, only hoping that my audience, whether large or small, will derive half the pleasure in the reading that the author has received in the writing of this little work.

I have purposely kept the book in as small a compass as possible, having particularly in mind its usefulness as a reference book for high schools, colleges, and libraries. Of course, it often gives only a hint of the rich store of information on various phases of twelfth century life, to be found scattered through hundreds of books, but it took eight years and eight hundred pages of notes to produce this small work. The scene of the story is laid principally in France which was unquestionably the leader in the literature and art of that period.

I have devoted seven chapters out of the fourteen to Saint Bernard, because I consider him not only the greatest in many respects, but by far the most interesting character of this century. Moreover, in the study of his

life in connection with his writings, one gets a better idea of the absurdities and vanities, the vices and cruelty, as well as the spiritual aspirations of the age, than in the life of any other man.

Perhaps it is safe to say that Bernard of Clairvaux, Henry II of England and Roger I of Sicily were, in the broadest sense of the term, the most conspicuous and influential men of this twelfth century, and while the last two may be regarded greater statesmen, how incomparably superior was Bernard in absolute purity of life and utter unselfishness and at the same time their equal in administrative ability. To be sure his tongue was sometimes a two-edged sword, but back of this harshness towards his political opponents was always a righteous cause or motive, although his judgments were sometimes narrow. But in comparing the three men, think of the cruel streak in Roger's make-up, the utter lack of self-control in Henry II (sometimes actually rolling on the floor in abject rage), and his shameless sensuality. Then consider the self-abnegation of Bernard, his lofty ideals, as well as intellectual and executive acumen. Surely his character shines as a beacon light through the ages.

M. J. R. T.

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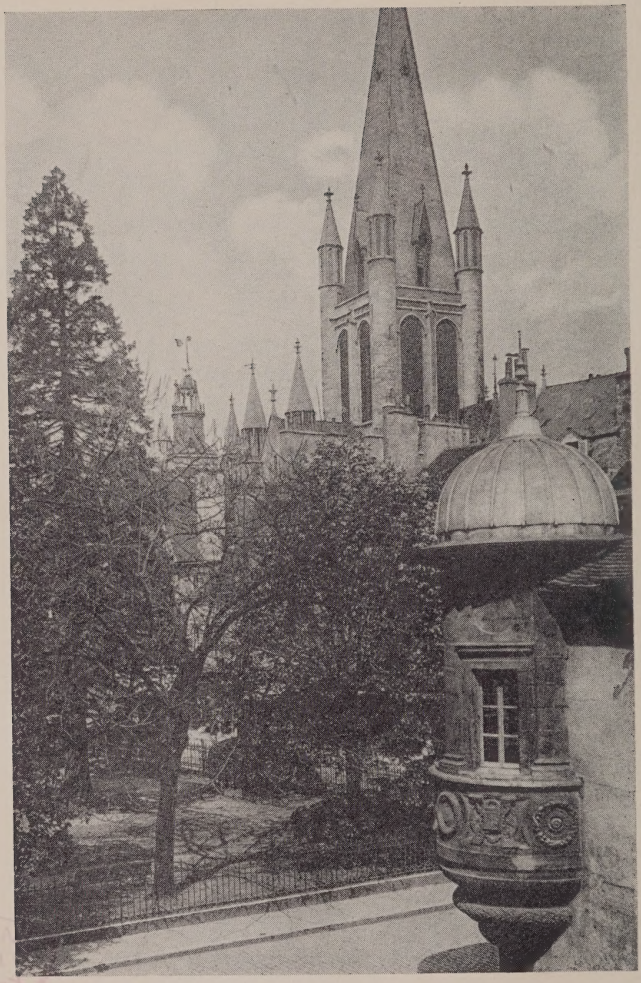

A VIEW OF DIJON

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CHAPTER I.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux

Right in the heart of eastern France, tucked in among the hills, itself richly endowed in this repect, lies one of the most beautiful and interesting departments in all this fascinating country—the famous Cote d'Or, redolent with the grape and teeming in historic lore. Miss Bertha Edwards, the well-known English traveller, said of it: "Sweeter spots do not lie under the sun than are to be found in Cote d'Or." And on the crest of one of these hills, in the little village of Fontaines-les-Dijon, stands the castle of St. Bernard, now largely a modern structure, to be sure, but still retaining the identical chamber in which the distinguished abbot was born. The view from the castle, now called the House of St. Bernard, is strikingly picturesque overlooking the ancient city of Dijon only a mile or so distant—once the capitol of far-famed, mediaeval Burgundy. A great plain of rich and fragrant vineyards extends many miles eastward, crowned in the southeast by the snowy peaks of Mont Blanc, which can be seen on a clear day. In the nearer perspective, to the southwest, lesser heights give variety and charm to the picture—Mt. Afrique and Plan de

Suzon proudly commanding the lower hills; rivers flowing through smiling valleys, dotted with the little homes of thrifty peasantry; rocky, barren hills, reflecting the brilliant glow of the setting sun. And this particular section of Cote d'Or was even more interesting in St. Bernard's day, for the Suzon which is now used to feed the Bourgoyne canal, and consequently only a small stream, was then a rough, swift flowing torrent, the forests also were much denser, while numerous abbeys and castles were all around Fontaines.

In this beautiful village was born in 1091* Bernard of Clairvaux, not only one of the most distinguished preachers whom France ever produced —superior even, in some respects, to the great Bossuet—but by far the most conspicuous figure in all Europe during the second quarter of the twelfth century. Schleiniger pronounces him the greatest preacher of the twelfth century and adds that he was probably the greatest throughout the Middle Ages.

With such an environment, is it any wonder that this child of genius, endowed with vivid imagination and great powers of observation should mature into an exceptional lover of nature, often declaring that he had learned more from rocks and trees than from all his books and studies. Indeed his spiritual nature, always responsive to such influences, was so quickened and uplifted by his surroundings that he often spent hours and sometimes days in solitude and prayer in the for-

* See Note 1.

ests or on the hill-tops near his home and at Clairvaux.

Although Dijon* in its early history goes back to the days of the Roman occupation, it is now a decidedly modern, wide-awake, manufacturing city, having a population of 75,000 or more. It still retains, however, in some sections an old-world air, for there are many mediaeval structures standing to this day, one at least of which was well known in Bernard's time. The interesting old cathedral of St. Benignus, originally belonging to the ancient Abbey, although rebuilt many times, still retains the crypt, some parts of which date back as far as the sixth century. Here Bernard's mother, Alithe, was buried with great honors, which shows how well known she was and how highly revered, for her casket was placed near the tomb of St. Benignus, the apostle of Burgundy, who suffered martyrdom here about 180 A. D. No one was interred in this sacred place but those who had been canonized or were regarded with the greatest veneration for their piety. Though the tomb of St. Benignus is still in this ancient crypt, Alithe's casket was transferred with great pomp in 1250 to Clairvaux where rested her husband, Lord Tescelin, and her favorite son St. Bernard. The old Abbey itself, which was founded in the sixth century, was almost as conspicuous and important as Cluny in Bernard's day, having one of the largest and best libraries known at that time.

* See Note 2.

The city of Dijon was almost as familiar to Bernard as his own little birth-place, for even after his departure to Clairvaux, he had occasion to pass through it very frequently on his many visits to the churches or monasteries which he had organized. And the City still deeply reveres his memory. One of its finest squares bears his name and is ornamented with a bronze statue of him, while the archives of Dijon contain most of the information to be obtained first-hand, in the form of old records and genealogical data regarding Bernard and his family, and much has been written about him in recent years by its citizens.

This entire region of the Cote d'Or, comprising only a small part of what was mediaeval Burgundy, and famed throughout Christendom for its vineyards, while by no means to be compared in grandeur to the Dauphiny, or the region of the Jura mountains and the Savoy, has a quiet beauty all its own. In some sections, and particularly a few miles north and west of Fontaines-les-Dijon, the country is 'wild and rugged with many ravines and narrow, winding valleys made by tributary brooks, these gorges being called combes', while deep forests, haunted by the oriole and the hoopoe are still abundant. Numerous rivers also add much to its beauty, with here and there a lovely cascade. To all real lovers of nature it seems a wonder that so little comparatively has been written about this section, but doubtless it is because the Jura and the Alps, not very far distant, so entirely eclipse it in grandeur.

The Cote d'Or Department, moreover, is of great historic interest and importance, the record of many of its towns going back to ancient and mediaeval times. Twenty miles northwest of Fontaines-les-Dijon is the little village of Alise St. Reine very near the site of the ancient Alisia,* where the great Gallic chief Vercingetorix, after many battles against the Romans, was finally conquered by Caesar 52 B.C., and here on a sightly hill (Mt. Auxois) stands Millet's colossal bronze statue of the heroic patriot. The Burgundian *city of Langres,* thirty miles from Clairvaux, was another Roman town of Caesar's day and very important in Bernard's time. Magnificently situated on a jutting promontory over 1500 feet high, it overlooks two beautiful valleys with the Cote d'Or range in the west, the Vosges in the east and in clear weather Mont Blanc visible to the naked eye. Many of its Roman buildings must have been standing in Bernard's day, for one handsome old Gallo-Roman gate or Arch of Triumph is still in existence, though restored.† Bernard, we know, frequently visited this interesting city, for Godfrey, the bishop of Langres was a near relative of his and an intimate friend. Moreover, as early as 1128, this town pleaded with Bernard to become her bishop.

But perhaps the most interesting city of all—though not in Cote d'Or—which was closely identified with the life of Bernard, is Chalons-sur-Marne. Here lived William of Champeaux, the

* See Note 3.
† See Note 4.

bishop of this town, who was not only the intimate friend for years of Bernard but the vigorous opponent of Abelard when that precocious youth made his debut in Paris and William was its most famous Professor of Dialectics. It was this same bishop who consecrated Bernard abbot of Clairvaux and it is generally supposed that the consecration took place at Chalons. From that time the two men were so intimate and visited each other so frequently that Clairvaux became a sort of bishop's palace, and Chalons became in a measure another Clairvaux.'

Long before William of Champeaux gave up his position as Professor of Dialectics in Paris, and became bishop of Chalons, this city had been a place of great importance, and for centuries—the eleventh to the fifteenth—under the supremacy of its bishops it was a kind of independent state, these rulers of the church having also great influence in political affairs and obtaining the title of grand vassals of the crown. So that bishop William lost nothing in leaving Paris and coming to Chalons—on the contrary he greatly widened his influence as well as gaining thereby a delightful friend in Bernard.

As Bernard sped over these hills and valleys on his charger, great lover as he was of his country and its proud history, his mind must often have reverted to the many stirring events of by-gone days, and especially on this great plain of Chalons where that terrific battle was fought against Attila, the "Scourge of God"—'one of the most

ARCH OF TRIUMPH AT LANGRES

gigantic as well as most important contests recorded in mediaeval history.' This is one of Creasy's "Fifteen Decisive Battles of the World." So great was it that a little stream, flowing through the middle of the plain, was so swollen by the blood shed that it became a roaring torrent. It may well be compared with the last great conflict in this vicinity, the Battle of the Marne. Unfortunately many of the details of the former will never be known with certainty, for Jonandes, its best historian, cannot be fully depended upon, but it is supposed that the principal centers of the two engagements were near each other—that of Chalons north of Troyes, and the Battle of the Marne at Fere Champenoise near the marshes of St. Gond. Only a little over half a mile from the Roman highway over which the legions of Aetius passed, just before the battle of Chalons,* "the troops of Von Kluck and Von Bulon gazed impotently at the historic panorama where more Teuton than Latin warriors sleep their last sleep." While the battle of Chalons was less than twenty-four hours long it covered over a large extent of territory, but small of course as compared with the battle of Marne, which extended from Meaux to Nancy, a distance of more than one hundred and fifty miles, and lasted a week.

Although Chalons could hardly have been rated as in the war zone, it was for a while the headquarters of an entire French army, and in Sep-

* See Note 5.

tember 1914 for a week it was occupied by the Germans, who freely pillaged houses and shops and extorted a war contribution to the value of $100,000, besides the daily rations for their troops, but no part of the city was destroyed.

In 1856 Napoleon III established the Camp de Chalons, sixteen miles north of the city and occupying an area of nearly 30,000 acres. In the Franco-Prussian war of 1870 this camp was occupied by the sixth army corps, and all through the late war it was a great training center for troops—the "Aldershot of France."

Chalons has several very interesting churches, the Notre Dame being the most famous. Eminent critics speak of it as noble and distinguished. Its four Romanesque towers belong to the original edifice. This, according to Baedeker is the only twelfth century building left in the city, but Augustus Hare says that the church of St. Alpin was rebuilt in 1136, and still preserves a nave and principal portal of that date. This city has had a cathedral ever since the days of St. Memmie when he preached Christianity here in the third century, but the present great edifice, St. Etienne, has been thrice struck with lightning, yet each time immediately reconstructed. In the early part of the twelfth century, it had become by frequent additions and embellishments strikingly beautiful, then came the first fell lightning stroke, which nearly destroyed it, but after a restoration of nine years it was rededicated in 1147 with great pomp and ceremony. St. Bernard, St. Eugenis III,

many cardinals, bishops and lords were present and a vast concourse of people from all parts. This ceremony took place in the Jard, then as well as at the present day an extensive, beautiful and well kept public park.

The Romanesque grand altar of the cathedral is one of the most beautiful in all France.

Chalons is also one of the many towns in which St. Bernard preached the Second Crusade.

It was very natural that Tescelin, the father of Bernard, should have early become interested in the beautiful Alithe, for Chatillon-sur-Sein and Montbard, their native towns, were only sixteen miles apart, and the two families must have been on more or less intimate terms. Each belonged to the same station of life, Alithe the offspring of a powerful nobleman in active service, and Tescelin himself of a similar high rank. At Chatillon Lord Tescelin owned a mansion or palace, for he was not only wealthy but held a distinguished rank in the court of two of the Dukes of Burgundy and was on intimate terms with them. These dukes even in Bernard's day were among the most powerful peers in France, often wielding greater power than the kings, and for centuries Chatillon was a favorite residence of theirs. They had many spacious and elegant chateaux, one of which was at Chatillon. Only fifty years ago a part of this famous and magnificent castle was still in existence, but now only

a few walls are left, and the enclosure is used as a cemetery.*

To this town Bernard was taken by his mother at the early age of seven, accompanied by his two older brothers, Alithe remaining with them for a time, while Bernard attended the famous school there, and the two older boys made preparations to enter the military ranks of the Duke. (According to Chomton, Bernard remained here several years—ten or twelve probably.) Chatillon was also the town to which Bernard and his thirty followers repaired for six months in preparation for entering Citeaux. Here also he preached in 1147 the Second Crusade. L'Abbé Chomton thinks there is no doubt about the present convent of the Ursulines in this City being on the site of the actual mansion of Tescelin, the father of Bernard. It is supposed that a part of the very mansion itself was incorporated in the substruction of the convent, for there is a small subterranean room belonging to it with walls apparently very ancient. In this little chamber is a statue of St. Bernard and here he is said to have frequently withdrawn for prayer during these six months of preparation for Citeaux. Montbard, beautifully located on the river bank was the home of Alithe before her marriage to Tescelin. Here lived her father, for whom the great abbot was named, Bernard, Lord of Montbard and of Humberge de Ricey. The donjon or keep—still in existence—of its mediaeval castle was not

* See Note 6.

erected it seems till the fourteenth century but there was an earlier chateau which Bernard's grandfather occupied. About 1130 Bernard made a visit to the chateau in which his mother was born at Montbard. He was accompanied by two of his brothers and met many relatives there. Although little now is known with certainty about the ancestry of Alithe, the old Latin biographers distinctly state that she was directly descended from the Dukes of Burgundy and was of higher nobility than Tescelin. The Burgundian dukes frequently held court at Montbard during the middle ages, but whether in Alithe's day we do not know.

Surrounded as Bernard was by all these historic associations, the neighboring hills bristling with fortifications or impregnable chateaux, many of his nearest relatives—his father, his two older brothers as well as some of his uncles and cousins—all valiant knights in active service, small wonder is it that when the time came for him to choose his life-work, it cost a struggle for him to finally decide to enter the church and become a champion of the Cross rather than a brave vassal of the imperious duke. Had he been blessed with a stronger physique, the Church might have lost a great reformer and saint, and the French army gained a valiant Christian commander, "for the knightly blood was as vital in his veins as if he had borne his father's shield on stricken fields."

CHAPTER II.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux

Fontaines-les-Dijon is interesting not alone for its attractive environment, and as the birthplace of St. Bernard, but because there still lingers on the hill many reminders of the renowned abbot. The modern House of St. Bernard erected 1881-1895, and parts of it somewhat resembling the architecture of the ancient chateau, particularly the large square tower, contains in its most interesting chapel a handsome reliquary which encloses a number of well-authenticated relics. Among these are four pieces of sacerdotal vestments worn by Bernard, each of them having Latin inscriptions stating that they had belonged to him; a part of his cowl and a small piece of the mattress on which he died. Fastened to it is a piece of parchment, somewhat defaced, with a Latin inscription stating that Bernard breathed his last on it. Also a bit of wood belonging to the bed he used at Clairvaux. As all of these relics above mentioned had been owned by and were obtained from either his descendants or from churches which had received them from abbots of Clairvaux, we may suppose that they are authentic, and L'Abbé Chomton declares they are.

HOUSE OF ST. BERNARD AT FONTAINES-LES-DIJON

During the Revolution of 1790 Bernard's tomb at Clairvaux was rifled. A pious monk is said, however, to have gathered up the bones and concealed them from the insults of the soldiery. Some of these fell into the hands of Bernard's descendants, and others were deposited in neighboring churches, where they still remain, the reliquary of the natal chapel at Fontaines containing, it is said, some of them. M. L'Abbé Chomton, honorary canon of Dijon, living in that city 1881-1895, not only made a careful examination of the ruins of the ancient castle in which Bernard was born at Fontaines-les-Dijon, during the beginning of the restorations in 1881, but also made an exhaustive historical and archaeological study of the chateau, including the natal chamber. From this research he emphatically states that the great rectangular walls enclosing the two royal chapels were the remains of the old chateau, and that parts of these walls were retained when building the new House of St. Bernard, and incorporated in it. He also says that the central part of the old chateau as represented by the authentic design of Martellange in 1611, is one of the rare types of the primitive French donjon or keep of the latter part of the XIth century, and that this has come down in fragments to us.

It is exceedingly interesting to find that through all these centuries, proofs of the exact site of the chamber in which Bernard was born, as well as the genealogy of his family, have been sacredly kept in the old Latin and French records

in the archives of Dijon, and by means of these records L'Abbé Chomton has proved beyond a doubt that the natal chamber was on the ground floor of the great tower in the donjon of the chateau. This chamber was converted into an oratory as early as 1495 or thereabouts. Soon after the Feuillant Fathers purchased the chateau—which was in 1613—this chapel or oratory was sumptuously embellished by King Louis XIII, while at about the same time a twin chapel was rebuilt and handsomely decorated by his Queen, Anne of Austria. These two oratories were ever after called the royal chapels. In L'Abbé Chomton's valuable work of three volumes, one of which is almost entirely devoted to Bernard's grand nephews and nieces, he gives, besides the history of the chateau, many facts not heretofore translated from the Latin, as well as correcting some statements regarding the chateau. He also gives a most interesting account of the two principal events which have occurred in recent years in the natal chapel—the great festivals of 1881 and 1891. It seems that the present chapel of St. Bernard, or the birth-chamber, is still about the same size as to width and length as the original "*berceau*" but its general appearance is thoroughly modern now. With the exception of the black marble columns which were originally placed there by Louis XIII in 1619, and some of the old inscriptions or tablets on the walls which belong to the same period, all of the other ornamentations are of very recent date.

CHAPEL OF ST. BERNARD AT FONTAINES-LES-DIJON

The history of the chateau itself, is an interesting one. The date of its erection is not known, but it is supposed to have been built for Lord Tescelin, the father of Bernard. Of only secondary importance, and not to be compared with the elegant castle at Chatillon-sur-Seine, in all probability Lord Tescelin wished it so to be, for he and Alithe, Lady Tescelin, were both philanthropic and cared nothing for ostentation. After the death of Bernard's mother and the departure of the seven children from the paternal roof, Tescelin himself became a monk at Clairvaux, and the chateau passed into the hands of his granddaughter, whose husband Bartholemy de Sombernon became Lord of Fontaines. From this time till the middle of the XVth century, that is, for three hundred years, the castle was owned and occupied by the grand nephews and nieces of Bernard, some of whom were very distinguished men and women, archbishops and abbesses, while others were prominent in politics and war. After this his descendants still retained part ownership in it till about 1580. In 1463 the chateau passed largely into the hands of strangers, who allowed it to fall into decay, being unoccupied for many, many years. In 1613 the Feuillant Fathers, Catholic reformers, purchased and converted it into a monastery, making many repairs and erecting other buildings connecting them with the ancient chateau. Here they remained and prospered for one hundred and seventy-five years until the French Revolution of 1789-'93, when monastic

orders were suppressed in France and the Feuillant Fathers were driven out.

Much injury was done to the chateau or monastery during those four terrible years, indeed all but the two royal chapels, Louis XIII and Anne of Austria, the former being the natal chamber, was a mass of ruins, and even the chapels were despoiled of their marble columns and the sculptures mutilated. The chapel of St. Bernard was used for a time as a mule stable, while its twin oratory was converted into a blacksmith's shop, and as late as 1881 the stains from the smoke of the forge could be seen on its walls. Otherwise the ruins remained untouched till 1821, when a prominent resident of Dijon, Monsieur Girault, purchased a greater part of the inheritance of the Feuillants and put a stone roof over the two royal chapels, thus saving them from total ruin. In 1840 part of these ruins was purchased by Monsieur L'Abbé Renault, and soon after he began a few repairs, as much as his limited means would permit, on the natal chamber, which was reconsecrated August 1841.

For many years L'Abbé Renault's greatest desire had been to establish a society for the guardianship of his beloved chapel, but it was not until 1880, four years after his death, that the missionaries of St. Bernard formally organized, when the members immediately set to work to gather together the relics already mentioned. The beautiful reliquary was made purposely for them, and then a grand festival in 1881 was prepared and

participated in at Fontaines and Dijon by a great concourse of people. After this the missionaries undertook and carried out the restoration of the two royal chapels which was a work of ten years, being finished in 1891, just in time for the 800th anniversary of Bernard's birth. This new building covers a much larger space than the two chapels, and it is this part of the House of St. Bernard which quite resembles externally the chateau as it was in 1611. It is also this section which has retained some of the ancient walls of the chateau.

Finding that this new building was not large enough for many purposes, especially for the annual festivals which have occurred regularly since 1873, an annex was added to it which was finished in 1895.

The eighth centenary of Bernard's birth was commemorated June 1891 at Dijon and at Fontaines by a remarkable festival which lasted four days. One of the distinguished prelates of Dijon went to Rome a year or two before the celebration, purposely to interest Pope Leo XIII in it, and he immediately exerted his great influence in encouraging the project, while letters and announcements regarding it were sent all over the Catholic world. The celebration was attended by a vast throng of pilgrims, including cardinals, archbishops, bishops and more than a thousand other ecclesiastics. Indeed, not only all sections of France were represented but many other countries of Europe; even China, Africa and Oceanica

sent representatives,—while the Catholics of America and China celebrated at some of their larger cities. A significant fact, showing that as the ages move on Bernard is by no means losing his prestige in the world as one of its greatest preachers and reformers. As such Protestants also revere his memory, for may we not consider him one of the connecting links between the two great Christian churches, representing as he did all that was best in the Holy Catholic Church and fearlessly arraigning all its evils. Dr. James Clarke in his "Events and Epochs of Religious History" agrees with Joseph Milner, the church historian, in his statement that Augustine, Anselm and Bernard were really the founders and fathers of genuine Protestantism.

CHAPTER III.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux

Few men of any age have been so blessed in their parentage as was Bernard of Clairvaux. His father, Lord Tescelin Sorus was not only a brave and victorious warrior, but a man of real piety. Philanthropic, and especially kind and generous to the poor in his own neighborhood, he took as much interest in the humble peasantry at the foot of the hill on which his castle stood, as if they were of his own station in life, and their affection for him and his family was sincere, a state of feeling very different from that so often then existing between lord and serf.* Tescelin's sense of justice was very keen, so much so that at one time, having been drawn into a dispute with one of the neighboring noblemen, it was decided to settle the difficulty by single combat. But after considering the matter from an ethical standpoint, Tescelin resolved to make peace with his adversary and magnanimously offered terms which he knew would be accepted. He had every advantage over this enemy, being physically much stronger than he, and consequently was positive of an easy victory. Moreover this victory would have accrued greatly to his honor as considered in that age. This reconciliation, therefore, was a

* See Note 7.

very unusual mark of conscientiousness on the part of Tescelin, especially in those rude days of might ruling right.

Bernard's mother, the beautiful Alithe, was a very lovely character. Destined at first for the cloister by her father, and herself desiring it, she received a better education than was usually given to the daughters of noblemen of that day. It was finally decided, however, that she should marry, at the early age of fifteen,* Lord Tescelin of Chatillon. Although so young no woman ever made a more thoughtful and conscientious wife. She not only superintended the care of her servants, interested herself in hospital work and in the peasants at the foot of the hill, but it is said that 'nothing made her happier than to visit the poor in their squalor and misery, relieving their sick and even cleansing their cups and vessels with her own hands.' Monasticism at this time was seeing its most prosperous days, and all religious persons were more or less attracted to it. The monastic life became to Alithe her ideal, and in all but name she was really a nun in her daily practices. She shunned society, dressed simply, was extremely abstemious at the table, and brought up her seven children—six sons and one daughter—to the same simple, self-denying life. And yet the home life of this nobleman's family was very happy and beautiful, for love, the greatest thing in the world, ruled the household. The father and mother both had the same

* See Note 8.

lofty aims, and the children were responsive to their teachings. Although the father was absent a greater part of the time because of his very responsible position in the court of the Duke and the frequent call to accompany him in his wars, the mother held firm yet gentle control over her large household.

Under the loving tutelage of this godly mother, Bernard rapidly developed into a winsome, affectionate, noble-minded youth. At Chatillon he showed great proficiency in his studies and became much interested in poetry and literature.

Having lost his mother at about the age of seventeen, or perhaps earlier, Bernard finally decided, after a severe conflict in choosing between a secular and religious life, to become a monk. When he made known his intention to enter Citeaux, his brothers and friends were very indignant and upbraided him, the son of a nobleman, for wishing to join a community of common woodcutters and farmers, and to lead the life of an obscure serf. They so worked upon his feelings, and dwelt so strongly upon his natural taste for literature, that he was finally prevailed upon to enter a German school of some celebrity in preparation for this life-work. But on his way to Germany his conscience troubled him, for he again recalled his beloved mother's special consecration of him to the work of the Lord. Passing by a church, he entered it and uttered a fervent prayer for light in this great crisis of his life. His mother seemed to be standing by and reproaching

him for his inconstancy. He burst into a flood of tears, and from that moment his mind was firmly fixed to become a monk and enter Citeaux.

At this time he was personally very attractive, tall and slender, intellectual looking and refined, with beautiful chestnut hair and a slight tinge of color on his fair cheeks.* Graceful in carriage, courteous in manner, always chivalric in conduct, he was by nature as much a lord as his lordly father. At the age of twenty-two he joined the Cistercian monks at Citeaux, only twelve miles south of Dijon, with thirty others, all of whom were of noble birth like himself. The Cistercian Order was one of the many off shoots of the great Order† of St. Benedict—founded nearly six hundred years before this time—which explains why Bernard is sometimes called a Benedictine monk. He persuaded four of his brothers to go with him, while the youngest followed soon after. He had considerable difficulty at first in gaining his oldest brother, Guido, as one of his followers, for he was married and had two little daughters. His wife refused to give him up; and Gerard, the second brother, also objected at first to leaving his beloved profession of arms, but Bernard warned both that punishment would certainly be visited upon them if they continued to refuse. Sure enough, sickness came to Guido's wife, and only a few days after the warning, Gerard was overcome by enemies and carried off prisoner. As

* See Note 9.
† See Note 10.

SAINT BERNARD OF CLAIRVAUX

soon as the latter recovered his liberty, and the former from her illness, they both yielded to Bernard, Guido and Gerard becoming his faithful followers, while the wife of Gerard entered a convent with her two children, and it is supposed that later she became abbess of Pralon, an important convent with which Bernard was closely affiliated.

At this time Citeaux was only fifteen years old. After passing through various vicissitudes Stephen Harding, an Englishman, became its abbot. He introduced so many reforms that it became unpopular, and it was also visited by an epidemic which greatly decimated its numbers. But the austerities and poverty of this new abbey were exactly what attracted Bernard to it. The rules of this Order: obedience, chastity and poverty; silence and humility; prayer, study and manual labor, he sacredly fulfilled throughout life, but he regretted in later days his early excessive fastings and vigils, realizing too late that he had thereby greatly injured his health and usefulness.

Under his influence, young as he was, the power of the institution rapidly increased, and many were added to its numbers. Later in life Bernard founded or was more or less instrumental in founding one hundred and sixty monasteries all of this Cistercian order, and in course of time it became so powerful that it governed a greater part of Europe in secular as well as religious affairs, superseding the influence of Cluny, which up to that time had had immense power,

including as it did, 2000 religious establishments and occupying, after Rome, the foremost place in Christendom. But the enormous wealth of the Cluniacs brought about their decline, just as later on the Cistercians became corrupt through their great possessions, and lost much of their power.

The abbey and grounds of Citeaux are now used as a juvenile penitentiary and orphanage under state control.

After Bernard had been at Citeaux two years, the Abbot, discovering his great executive ability, and real piety,* sent him out in 1115 with a company of twelve young men, to found another monastery of the same Order. After travelling nearly a hundred miles north, they found a densely-wooded valley surrounded by hills, dark and gloomy, called the "Valley of Wormwood" because of the stunted bushes of that name which covered a large part of its surface. They found, however, a stream running through it and this decided them to accept the locality. This darksome ravine did verily become a valley of light as its name—Clairvaux—indicates, but it took years of hard toil to make it such.† The poverty, pain and hunger which these delicately-reared men endured through the first winter at Clairvaux reminds one of the early sufferings of the Pilgrim Fathers at Plymouth. Had it not been for the abounding patience, hopefulness and fortitude of Bernard, the little company would have disbanded in despair, but after the first harvest in the

* See Note 11.
† See Note 12.

succeeding year, matters brightened greatly, and the little abbey soon became very popular. It was ten years, however, before they were able to raise sufficient wheat for their own wants and for the poor who appealed to them. How Bernard and his monks grew to love this enchanting spot, and how eagerly he returned after his many absences may be gathered from his letters and his own description of it. In course of time this secluded valley became, and for many years continued to be, the real center of Christendom, solely through Bernard's commanding personality, and at one time no less than eight hundred abbeys were affiliated with it. In 1145 a Cistercian monk, once a member of Clairvaux, was elected pope as Eugenius III which was a great triumph for Bernard, though he cared nothing for the honor, but complained that all who had suits to press in Rome at that time applied to him as if he himself was pope. When Bernard had been at Clairvaux twenty years the Abbey was greatly enlarged and improved, much against the wish, however, of the abbot who preferred the rough simplicity of the original buildings. Yet these new structures were mean and primitive as compared with those erected long after his death. In the eighteenth century the monastery was one of the most magnificent in France, but what remains of it now is used as a capacious prison, having on an average 800 inmates.

There is still remaining a large storehouse connected with this present prison, which dates from

the twelfth century. No doubt Bernard was often seen in this very storehouse, for with all his versatility of talent, he was, moreover, an intensely practical man, and had such an oversight regarding everything connected with his beloved Abbey, that one of his very last letters was written to a Count whose vassal had stolen some pigs from Clairvaux. "If they had belonged to me," wrote Bernard, "I should not have minded the loss, but I was taking care of them for a neighbor. You will please see that they are returned." We haven't the slightest doubt but that the pigs came back on short notice.

Bernard was consecrated as abbot of the new institution when only twenty-four years old. After a serious illness of a year or so, caused by excessive fastings and vigils, together with his new responsibilities, he resumed his duties at Clairvaux and began that career of literary and ecclesiastical activities which won for him the title of "Last of the Fathers." The first eight years or so were spent in the spiritual training of his beloved monks, preaching to them often every day in the week, and sometimes twice a day. No pastor was ever more lovingly faithful to his flock than was this gifted and brilliant preacher, and his monks repaid him with such ardent affection as is rarely granted to any minister of modern times. His marvellous powers as a speaker soon made him famous, drawing crowds of pilgrims to Clairvaux. His wonderful voice also added greatly to his power—clear and musical as a bugle call,

CATHEDRAL OF STE. MAMMEE, LANGRES

yet often ringing out in far-reaching, trumpet tones, the very sound of which, like Garibaldi's, made men fall in love with him.

And now, at about the age of thirty-five, his public career begins. From this time, for over twenty-five years, though never in good health, and with many illnesses, he worked almost incessantly, buoyed up by his indomitable will and his unquenchable love for the cause of Christ. Not only his preaching, and the personal care of many churches commanded his time, but the settling of quarrels in public, secular affairs, numerous journeys to Italy and elsewhere in the interest of the Church at large; the seven years' schism which he ended by placing Innocent II on the papal throne; the famous controversy with Abelard; his theological treatises and an enormous correspondence—all this so consumed his energies, that, at the early age of fifty-five, he was so completely worn out that his beloved monks feared for his life. During the time of his founding the many monasteries of his Order, he inspired such enthusiasm that thousands of men and women of all classes crowded into the convents, including nobles, knights and ladies of the highest rank. Even ruling monarchs, not a few, gave up their thrones in middle life and entered these monasteries. At the time of Bernard's death the number of Cistercian abbeys was over five hundred, and in 1142 the kingdom of Portugal declared itself a fief of the Abbey of Clairvaux.

It is said that during the last twenty-five or thirty years of Bernard's life, not a single great event in western Europe of direct or indirect importance to the Church occurred, without his being consulted with regard to it, and Dr. Storrs says that for a whole generation he was the most commanding man in all Europe. During this time he travelled over a greater part of Europe more than once. Probably no man in all France was as familiar, by travel, with all parts of his own country as Bernard, not excepting even the troubadours, for we find him in all sections, north, south, east and west. He even penetrated into the wilds of Dauphiny to visit the famous Abbey, La Grande Chartreuse.

CHAPTER IV.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux

It seems remarkable that a man so spiritually minded as Bernard, and so eager to spend his life simply among his beloved monks in his abbey at Clairvaux, should have been forced out of his obscurity into a public life so strenuous and far-reaching in its influence, but it is only another illustration of the complexity or many sidedness of his nature. He was, undoubtedly, led by Providence into this public career, for no other man of equal ability and commanding personality could be found to assist in guiding ecclesiastical and temporal affairs in this critical period of European history. During all the later years of Bernard's life, there were no men on the papal throne of distinct power and ability, so that he often held the ecclesiastical reins in his own hands far more than did the Pope, "for his voice was the most trusted and authoritative in Europe, though he was no bishop or archbishop but only a simple abbot." The very fact of his being a monk added greatly to his influence, "because monachism was the necessary expression of the religious sentiment of those times." "It was really the monks who kept alive the flickering light of civilization while Europe was passing

through her long night; and the crowning example is Bernard living in utter poverty and daily asking himself the stern question: 'Bernard wherefore art thou.' " Bernard's broader public career may be said to have begun with the sending out to the world his famous "Apology," written to William abbot of St. Thierry near Rheims, in the year 1127 (this seems to be the date usually given).

A few years previous to this, Ponce, then the abbot of Cluny, had not only led the monks into great extravagances, but his own life had been such as to make this hitherto revered Abbey a scandal to all Christendom. Jealousy, moreover, had already begun its work between the Cluniacs and the Cistercians, although Bernard of course entered not into any such spirit, but simply deplored the defection of the former. William of Thierry wrote to Bernard that it was high time he took the matter up, for the Cistercians were accused of being the detractors of Cluny, and a scandal in the Church was the result. Bernard at first hesitated, but finally wrote the "Apology" as he called it, asking William and Ogerius to read and correct it, leaving to their judgment as to whether it should be seen by anyone else. Both highly approving it, the long treatise was sent broadcast to the world and caused the greatest excitement. M. Vacandard seems to give the fullest account of this controversy devoting sixteen pages to it, making many literal quotations. We

can give here simply a brief synopsis of the argument.

Bernard begins by justifying himself against the reproach of intolerance, and declares that he has never spoken against the Order of Cluny, that he has been kindly entertained by the Cluniacs, has assisted at times in their conferences, has never attempted to draw away any monk belonging to this Order, that, on the contrary, he has prevented Cluniacs from abandoning their own affiliation for the Cistercian. "How then can anyone suspect me of condemning an Order which I recommend even to my friends?" He then chides his own monks for self-righteousness in criticising the Cluniacs because of their leathern garments, for eating meat and fat and neglecting manual labor. "We in our tunics and our pride have a horror of leathern garments* as if humbleness in skins was not far preferable to pride in tunics. Again, with our bellies full of beans and our minds of pride, we condemn those who are full of meat, as if it were not better to eat a little fat on an occasion than to be gorged even to belching upon windy vegetables." As to manual labor he says: "In that you subdue your bodies by much and manifold labor you do well, but your pride in this excellence takes it all away. Who is better, the humble man or the tired man? Who observes the rule most?" But now that he has shown his impartiality by reproving his own monks, he bears down heavily on the extravag-

* See Note 13.

ance and sumptuous living of the abbots and monks in so many of the Benedictine monasteries, denouncing in scathing terms their intemperance in eating and drinking, in ostentatious and rich clothing, in horse-trappings and in buildings. He closes his invective by denouncing the profuse ornamentations of churches and especially the grotesque and symbolic figures which attract the attention of worshippers and draw them from their spiritual meditations, deploring also the sinful wastefulness of money so sorely needed for the poor. "The churches' walls are resplendent but the poor are not there. The curious find wherewith to amuse themselves—the wretched find no stay for them in their misery."

When we come to sift the whole matter, making all due allowance for Bernard's extremely emphatic way of expressing himself, we find that he does not proscribe absolutely the pomp of culture and the decoration of the churches. Two motives alone inspire his denunciation of such things: the glory of God and the highest welfare of souls. Notwithstanding the strength of his antipathy to everything which affects the senses, he realizes that some are edified by the marvels of the Benedictine churches and are thereby drawn to God, "but I am a monk" he cries, "and speak as a monk. We have quitted the ranks of the people and renounced the riches and pomp of the world for the love of Christ, and have crushed under our feet all that charms the eyes." Thus the Abbot of Clairvaux forbids only to the pious the

things of art and recommends them as a means of moral education. He also established a distinction between cathedral and monastic architecture, the former properly expressing joy, riches and pomp, and the latter severity, poverty, nakedness.

The stern invectives of this Apology made a profound impression not only at Cluny, at Rheims and at St. Denis, but throughout the Benedictine Order. Cluny at first indignantly denounced the stern reproofs which Bernard evidently intended principally for them, but Peter the Venerable with characteristic gentleness yet firmness quieted his monks and brought about beneficial results in the way of several reforms and a simpler life. Three remarkable conversions were the results of this "Apology" of Bernard's: that of Suger; of Henry, the Archbishop of Sens; and of Stephen, bishop of Paris. St. Denis, the most illustrious in France after Cluny, was one of the first abbeys to institute a decided reform after the promulgation of this Apology. The disorders of this monastery under the abbot Adam were perpetuated during the first years of his successor Suger, who proved indeed to the world his great vigor and ability in ruling the affairs of Church and State, but, confining himself at the beginning of his abbacy entirely to politics, the discipline of his monastery suffered greatly. King Louis the Sixth, who had divined in Suger a great statesman, having been educated with him in this very Abbey

and known him well from early youth, drew him more and more into public affairs, so that he soon took the position of an all powerful prime minister. All this was good for the State but harmful to St. Denis. The King, his soldiers and officers of the Crown had free access to the cloister, and Bernard declares that the youth of both sexes gathered here for their social functions and it became the very synagogue of Satan, while Suger himself, although its abbot, was living and travelling in great style with his retinue and sixty horses. Bernard reproved him severely for this extravagant display, but not till Suger had read his "Apology" did he awake to a realization of the need of reform both in his own life and that of his Abbey. This he brought about with characteristic vigor and thoroughness, and ever after lived consistently as a Benedictine abbot, much to the joy of Bernard, and from this time a sincere affection existed between the two men, as is strongly shown in Bernard's letter to him.*

Henry, Archbishop of Sens, like Suger, had also been living in great splendor, the saddles of his horses brilliant with gems, his mules caparisoned with buckles and chains, bells hanging from their necks and bandlets gaily embroidered and bright with nails of gold, while the poor around him had naught to cover their nakedness.

Again Bernard was called upon for advice, this time to Henry, as to the duties of the Episcopate. Still young and inexperienced in ecclesiastical af-

* See Note 14.

CRYPT OF FOUNTAINS ABBEY

fairs, the abbot of Clairvaux humbly exclaims: "Who am I that I should presume to instruct bishops? But again who am I that I should hesitate to obey a bishop?" He writes another remarkable treatise, his famous *"De Officio"* in the form of a letter and sends it to Henry. It is full of noble advice on the duties of bishops, giving also much information of absorbing interest as to the manners and customs of the times.

Stephen, bishop of Paris, a brilliant, accomplished and able man and a great favorite of King Louis VI, was so impressed by the trenchant words of Bernard in his "Apology" that he broke away from the intoxications of Court-life and gave his whole time to his large diocese. This greatly displeased Louis the Fat, (Louis VI), who, though a great and good king, had a bad temper and was easily enraged if thwarted in his plans. Since he could not influence Stephen to come back to the Court, his friendship turned to hatred and it is said that he even threatened the bishop's life, so that the latter was obliged to flee to the Archbishop of Sens. The two men hastened to Citeaux and appealed to Bernard through the Cistercian Order, he being now its most influential member. A general Chapter was summoned and the united abbots sent a vigorous letter to the King demanding a proper reconciliation between him and the deeply wronged bishop. Louis at first pretended to relent but was at the same time negotiating with the time-serving pope, Innocent II who absolved him from the charge of

the bishops. Then Bernard wrote a stinging letter to the Pope and personally visiting the king he sternly said: "You have scorned the terrible God in scorning the supplication of his ministers. Await then the chastisement which shall fall upon you." And then he predicted the sudden death of his oldest son, which prediction was actually fulfilled soon after by a fall from his horse in Paris caused by a pig which ran under the feet of the prince's horse, and eventuated in his death that very evening. "The heart-broken father was conscience stricken. At once he made amends to the bishop and was reconciled to the Church."

The conversion of these three men, so prominent in the social and ecclesiastical world, immediatey brought Bernard most conspicuously before the public, but the adulation he received was really offensive to him. It was at this time that he was urged to take the bishoprics of Chalons-sur-Marne and Langres, but he refused both.

CHAPTER V.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux

The story of Bernard's championship of the Knights Templars at Troyes 1128 is well known. This was at first a feeble order, for the protection of pilgrims to Jerusalem but it became under Bernard's "impassioned and commanding spirit" the most famous military order of Europe and so continued for nearly two hundred years.

But no part of his public career is more striking in its many dramatic phases than the seven years' schism, when Bernard, not yet forty years of age, placed Innocent II on the papal throne.

There were at this time many factions in Rome, and one of the cardinals, Peter Leonis—afterwards Anacletus II—was at the head of its strongest party, being a man of great wealth. Hearing that the Pope Honorius II was dead, he was so bold in his attempts to succeed him that the dying pontiff had to be dragged to a window to prove that Peter was premature in his ambitious schemes. After the death of Honorius II in 1130, the party opposed to Peter proclaimed Gregory supreme pontiff under the title of Innocent II. Rome was now in great commotion through this disastrous schism. Anacletus not only besieged St. Peter's but other city churches. Innocent II

was driven away, and soon after began his notable journey of a whole year through France, accompanied much of the time by Bernard.

The bishops of France, not having decided as yet which pope they preferred, Louis VI saw the need of convoking a council, which he accordingly did at Etampes, about twenty-five miles from Paris. Bernard was specially urged to be present by the king and bishops. Indeed the responsibility of the decision, as to which of these two men should be pope, was laid entirely upon him. He examined carefully the whole question and decided unequivocally for Innocent II. Immediately the council ratified the decision, and as far as France was concerned the question was virtually settled.

And now the king of England, Henry 1st, and the king of Germany, Lothaire, were to be won over to the cause of Innocent. Accordingly the papal party moved on to Chartres, a few miles distant, where Henry I met them with an immense retinue of bishops and nobles, for he, now being in possession of Normandy, was obliged to be in France the greater part of his time, in order to crush the revolts of his enemies, the French barons. This was probably the first time Bernard had met the English king, but he was wholly unawed by this great display of retinue, and immediately exercised all his powers of eloquence to persuade Henry to become an adherent of Innocent as pope. After considerable discussion on the part of each, Bernard exclaimed: "Are you

afraid of incurring sin if you acknowledge Innocent? Bethink you how to answer for your *other* sins to God. I will take and account for *this* one." The king not only soon became a fearless champion of Innocent, but loaded him with presents at Rouen.

The pope's party then proceeded to Liege, to meet Lothaire. Here there was a great demonstration, and the monarch, getting off his horse, went on foot to the pope and did homage to him, holding the bridle of his palfrey as he led him through the City. But when the pope made the request that Lothaire conduct him to Rome with an army, the latter brought forward such impossible conditions, that he might as well have refused to accept Innocent as pope. This caused great consternation until Bernard again came to the rescue and by his impetuousity and ardor of feeling completely subdued and convinced Lothaire even as he had so recently convinced Henry 1st of England, so that he became a strong adherent of Innocent, acknowledging himself the pope's vassal, when the latter crowned Lothaire Roman emperor in the Lateran 1133.*

Bernard then took the pope to Clairvaux, but the simplicity of life and self-abnegation there did not at all appeal to the luxurious tastes of Innocent and his retinue, and they remained only a day or so. They had lingered many days at Cluny, for in the latter abbey the monks had forgotten their ancient Benedictine rule of poverty

* See Note 15.

and self-sacrifice, and were provided with luxuries which wealth alone can supply.

After this, Bernard made three journeys into Italy to pacify the contending factions all over the country and connected with the schism. He visited Genoa, Pisa, Milan* and Rome, reconciling the first two, while in approaching Milan, throngs met him seven miles on the way, and kissed his feet, throwing themselves on the ground before him, though he reproved them for such homage. Business was entirely suspended throughout the City, in order that the entire population might see and hear him. He was finally obliged to hasten away from Milan in order to prevent their forcing upon him the archbishopric of the City. Bernard had thus succeeded in winning nearly all Italy to the side of Innocent, but the all-powerful Roger of Sicily was still an unbending adherent of Anacletus. It was just at this critical juncture of affairs that Bernard and Roger met in southern Italy. The former pleaded eloquently with the King but could make no serious impression upon him, although he did go as far as to suggest a conference of men, three on each side, to talk the matter over. Anacletus died, however, soon after and Victor IV was elected as his successor. The irresistible vehemence of Bernard so affected this new anti-pope that he soon gave up tiara and robes and Innocent was left alone in the field. Roger at once recognized Innocent as pope and ordered him 'to be proclaim-

* See Note 16.

CHURCH OF SAN AMBROGIO, MILAN

ed as Father and Lord throughout his kingdom.'

Thus ended one of the most famous schisms of European history, a dispute in which nearly all Europe was involved, 'affecting not only the public welfare of the Continent, but the development of Christian civilization.' And this disgraceful, far-reaching contention was almost entirely quelled by the unerring hand and mind of one frail Cistercian monk.*

Probably no country in western Europe was more in the eye of the nations than Sicily in the twelfth century. Fortunately through Thucydides, later historians and countless travellers who visit this fascinating island, we know much about its early checkered and unique history—its ancient cities, some of them founded, it is supposed, in the days of King Solomon. What more thrilling stories can we find than those about the once magnificent Segesta, Solunto, Syracuse and Akragas (Girgenti)—their vast and splendid temples, even now in their ruins considered second only to the most famous of Athens. And some of these remarkable temples must have been standing and echoed to the twelfth century the stirring scenes which they memorialized.

This peerless island, almost unmatched in scenic beauty, also passed through a checkered life in the middle ages, many of its finest cities swept away and buried deep in motley ruins by Roman, Gothic and Saracen hosts, yet continually rising again through these varied conquerors, in power

* See Note 17.

and splendor, even as they rose in ancient times after the conquests of Greeks and Phoenicians or Carthaginians.

In the eleventh century a new power—the Normans—having already made themselves a mighty force in France and England swooped down upon southern Italy and carried captive not only that fair land but Sicily itself. Yet never was Sicily in greater prosperity than in the twelfth century under King Roger 1st, son of Roger the Great Count, for never before had it been so united and independent. Indeed the united kingdom of the two Sicilies was at that time second to none in Europe for wealth and magnificence, and this Norman conquest forms the most romantic episode in mediaeval Italian history. 'Southern Italy under the Normans in the twelfth century, was the most flourishing and civilized portion of Europe and Palermo was then the most beautiful and most splendid city in the world.'

In the study of this twelfth century, Roger the Norman, Second Count of Sicily and First King of Naples and Sicily, looms up as one of the ablest and most conspicious personalities of this period; indeed it is said that he was one of the greatest of the Middle Ages. His education was entrusted to eminent men from every part of the world; from the East, from France, England and Italy. Of indomitable spirit and untiring energy, a great organizer and statesman, he did more for Sicily than any other ruler, before or after his

time, in welding together opposing forces, in breaking the bonds of feudalism, in proving to the common classes that the kingly power could protect and avenge. The brilliant reign of his grandson, Frederic II, could never have been what it was had not Roger first established a government "majestic, strong and enduring", and thus prepared the way for the renowned Emperor's great success in Sicily.

Cruel at times, amost savage in his methods of revenge, Roger's keen sense of justice and determination to found a stable government is the only palliation which can be made for the ferocity he practiced in striking down all rebels. But there can be no palliation what ever for his horrible treatment of the dead body of his kinsman and opponent, the brave and chivalrous Rainulf, Duke of Apulia. Like all of the greatest rulers in the world, Roger was many-sided. Enormously wealthy and at the same time close-fisted—a characteristic of the Normans of his day—he was nevertheless a generous patron of learning and the arts. Through all his life at war with rebellious vassals or dangerous neighbors and closely connected with the great seven years' schism, he not only interested himself in architecture, superintending much of the work on his three favorite churches—the famous cathedral of Cefalu, the Palatine Chapel and the San Giovanni degli Eremiti—the last two in Palermo – as well as his two most beautiful palaces, La Favara and Mimnerno, but he found time to en-

tertain men of letters, poets, musicians, scientists and travellers. Himself a linguist of ability he caused the writings of Ptolemy to be translated from the Arabic into Latin; he superintended the compilation of a Geography of the World, and the first written code of Sicilian Law is due to him. This Geography, principally the work of Edrisi, the "Strabo of the Arabs", was the greatest geographical monument of the Middle Ages. The entire work—in three parts—to which Edrisi and Roger gave fourteen years, was composed of a silver orb or disc weighing 450 Roman pounds; a series of maps and the written section called "The Book of Roger" containing a mass of information, literary, geographical, zoological and historical, 'representing the outlook of the best minds of the age upon the world in which they lived'. This Book became a classic among Arab geographers, but in Europe it was scarcely known till 1592 when fragments of it were published in Rome. The silver disc was destroyed in a riot soon after Roger's death and the original maps are also lost, but there are still partial copies of them. These maps are very curious and emphasize the limitations of practical science in that day.

Roger's oriental love of display is seen in his imitation of the gorgeous court-dress of the Eastern Emperors and is, or has been shown quite recently, at Vienna.

The magnificent mosaics at Cefalu and Palatine chapel, many of them as perfect today as when

first executed nearly eight hundred years ago, and the wonderful Moslem paintings on the honeycomb ceilings of both of these churches testify to Roger's aesthetic tastes for it is supposed that he not only selected his Moslem, Greek and Roman artists, but actually superintended some of the work on these churches as has already been mentioned.

After the recognition of Innocent II as pope by Roger, a very friendly relation springs up between the King and Bernard, although up to the end of the great schism they had been strenuous antagonists, Bernard denouncing Roger as the Sicilian usurper and the enemy of the Church. In 1140 the King sends Bernard a pressing invitation to visit his kingdom, also offering to found a Cistercian abbey in Sicily. Not being able to accept the invitation for himself, Bernard sends some of his monks to the island, whom Roger receives with royal magnificence and founds a monastery for them in Palermo. There are no traces of this at the present day but another was built in 1150, now known as the Magione, and is still standing.

At the time of Roger's death (1154) less than a year after Bernard's decease, his kingdom comprised Sicily and all southern Italy, extending as far north as the river Tronto and within forty miles of Rome, also the islands of Malta and Gozo, while his authority extended along the African coast for nearly seven hundred miles—from Bona to Tripoli. This kingdom of Sicily

which Roger first established lasted in one form or another down to the middle of the 19th century.*

There were mighty political changes going on in France at this time. During the nearly thirty years reign of Louis VI, beginning when Bernard was seventeen years old, the mental and material progress of his country was immense. Feudal oppression was greatly lessened and the growth of town liberties, with the organization of guilds, rapidly increased, besides many other reforms, for Louis had at heart the welfare of the common people. Indeed he was the first really great king which France had had for centuries. Wonderful strides were also made in the consolidation of the nation and the revival of the kingly power. The very opposite of his weak, incapable and indolent father, full of vigor and enthusiasm in spite of poor health,† Louis had a hard struggle at first, for the limits of the royal power were very narrow. At this time his kingdom covered a territory of only one hundered and twenty miles by ninety, comprising the modern Departments of the Seine, the Seine et Oise, the Seine et Marne, the Oise and the Loiret, drawing its entire resources from Paris, Orleans, Etampes, Melun and Compiegne. In the early part of his reign he could not travel from his city of Paris to his city of Orleans, a distance of only sixty miles or so

* See Note 18.
† See Note 19.

CRYPT OF ST. DENIS CATHEDRAL

without an army at his back, for the barons carried on a regular system of brigandage, pillaging travellers on the highways, confining them in the dungeons of their castles, and compelling them to purchase their liberty by ruinous ransoms. They also shamefully plundered the churches and monasteries, destroying all public order and security. But after twenty-four years of continuous warfare with these barons Louis not only succeeded in subduing them, but during the same time he was carrying on at intervals a serious contest with Henry 1st of England, sometimes being reduced to the sorest straits. These wars carried on by Louis against the barons may seem petty to modern historians, yet 'none were wiser in aim, more useful or important in consequences. Even Louis IX showed no greater ability in undermining the aristocracy than did Louis VI, only the former had a larger sphere of action.'

In the engagement between Louis and Henry 1st at Brenneville (1119), which happened by accident, the former was badly routed and escaped capture only by unrivalled bravery. Indeed no braver or more gallant soldier was ever known than Louis, for 'plunging into swollen rivers, entering blazing castles, reckless in the charge as on the march—in all his wars he fought in person—he gained the reputation of a national hero, the protector of the poor, the churches, the peasants and the town.' Altho' he hardly deserves the title sometimes given him of "*Father of the Com-*

munes,'' it was in his reign that the communes or towns openly asserted and established their civic privileges, and it was he who granted charters to Beauvais, Noyon, Laon, Amiens and Soissons. He was also the arbiter of disputed successions and by this power he entered the Bourbonnois (central France) with an army in 1115 and compelled the usurper of that province to submit. 'Since the early Carlovingians no banner of a French king had been seen so far from his capital.' In 1121, aided by the counts of Anjou and Nevers he extended his authority as far south as Auvergne.

Although generally humane, a lover of justice and beloved by his subjects, it is said that he and William Clito inflicted the most horrible tortures upon the murderers of Charles the Good, count of Flanders. Suger in his history of the times 'relates punishments perpetrated upon this occasion too horrible for transcription.'

Sensual and avaricious, like the first two Henries of England and so many of the French kings, yet in Louis VI 'we can trace some at least of the humane virtues which helped to make his great-great-grandson Louis IX the paragon ruler of the Middle Ages.' He not only extended his own royal authority but laid the foundations of the French monarchy strong and deep, so thoroughly, indeed, that not even the weak reign of his son and successor Louis VII, continuing twenty-eight years after the death of Suger, could seriously

undermine it. He may well be considered the first of the builders of modern France.

A genial, cheerful man, even under great difficulties and when hampered by disease, he proved himself in many respects far in advance of his age.

As Louis VII began to reign in 1137, he was king during a longer part of Bernard's public career than his father, Louis VI. Bernard was accordingly more closely affiliated with him than with the former monarch. But Louis VII was a very different ruler from his father. A religious man and scholarly for his times, he was weak and wavering, entirely lacking in poise and stamina. Had it not been for the wise assistance of Suger in political affairs, the nation would have fared worse than it did. Not only a wise and able historian, but an astute politician, statesman and ecclesiastic, Suger acted as regent during the absence of Louis VII in the Second Crusade, ruling the land with so much wisdom and incorruptible fidelity that he was called the father of his country, but unfortunately he died many years before the end of Louis' reign, which was a very long one.

It was through Bernard's influence and in penance for the cruel death of the poor inhabitants of Vitry* that Louis became the leader of the French army in the Second Crusade, and the two men were the principal speakers at Vezelai, dur-

* See Note 20.

ing that notable tour through France and the Rhineland.

Although Bernard, during his many sojournings in different countries, never visited England, he showed the same interest in that land as in others, for he sent many of his monks there to organize new monasteries, and wrote letters to Henry Ist urging him to encourage this religious work. Through these letters of Bernard's, the king and the realm received with honor these monks who established new foundations in the province of York.

Although Stephen, the English abbot of Citeaux had established the first Cistercian abbey in England in the county of Surry, as early as 1128, it was only a year or two after this that Bernard's monks founded the abbey of Rievaulx,* the first of this order in Yorkshire, and it was the pious influence of these monks at this new monastery which caused the Benedictines at St. Mary's of York to secede in 1132 and establish the famous Fountains Abbey near Ripon. Bernard was chosen the patron of this Cistercian Abbey, which in time became one of the most distinguished in all England, and he was continually consulted by its abbots and monks during the first twenty years of its history, indeed up to the very last years of his life, several of its inmates visiting him at Clairvaux for advice regarding the management of the monastery. He sent them Geoffrey, one of his holiest and most efficient monks,

* See Note 21.

FOUNTAINS ABBEY, WEST FRONT

to instruct them in the new way, who also acted as their architect in the building of the church and Abbey, the ruins of which to this day are the delight and admiration of all tourists to that most interesting spot. Many consider these ruins even more beautiful than those of Melrose Abbey. Bernard also sent to them, from his own Abbey, to take the position of Abbots, two Englishmen of note who had come to Clairvaux to be under his instruction—one of them being Henry Murdac, a man of great ability and integrity, who became the third abbot of Fountains Abbey. Only a short time after this—about 1146—there arose a great contention regarding the archbishopric of York, one of the most distinguished ecclesiastical positions which England could confer. The elected prelate was William, said to be the nephew of king Stephen, and his rival was this very Henry Murdac, abbot of Fountains Abbey. William had been accused of simony—bribing the clergy for this position—a sin abhorred by the Cistercians. In consequence of this, many of the English clergy opposed the election and Pope Innocent pronounced strongly against it. Nevertheless, through the influence of king Stephen, William actually possessed the archbishopric for two years. When, however, Eugenius III, a former pupil of Bernard at Clairvaux, became pope, the latter wrote several fiery letters regarding William, and thus succeeded in deposing him and electing his friend Henry. This so enraged the friends of William, that they attacked Fountains

Abbey and burned it to the ground. It was immediately rebuilt, however, and parts of the noble church escaped destruction, the nave of which and portions of the transept and cloister still remaining to this day. Bernard has been blamed for the course he took in this affair, but later biographers seem to exonerate him—at least to concede that his motive in it was a righteous one.

Yet it must be confessed that this iron will of Bernard's before which all classes of men seemed to bow, and his impetuosity occasionally led him into acts of indiscretion and injustice as well as bitter expressions of disapproval towards his opponents. In his denunciation of Anacletus he pronounces him the Beast of Prophecy while he makes a venomous pun on his name Leo. In his controversy with Abelard he gives away to extremely harsh language, and in his fierce opposition to Arnold of Brescia, who though a revolutionist and perhaps mistaken in his political views, was at heart a patriot—of him Bernard said: "Being leagued with the devil he only thirsts for the blood of souls." In the case of the election of a Cluniac monk to the bishopric of Langres, he is particularly persistent and determined. He had evidently been prejudiced against this candidate by parties who were connected with the bitter jealousies between the Cistercians and Cluniacs, and had grievously maligned this monk. But the great and good Abbot, Peter the Venerable of Cluny, whom Bernard both loved and revered, explained to the latter that the can-

didate for the bishopric of Langres was true and tried and well known to himself. Bernard, however, had made up his mind, no doubt with perfect conscientiousness, that a Cistercian, his kinsman Godfrey should be appointed to this important position which he accordingly brought about; notwithstanding the fact that the monk whom Abbot Peter advocated had actually been accepted by the Pope, by king Louis VII, by the archbishop of Lyons, as well as by cardinals and bishops. Nevertheless we cannot believe that a man of such Christ-like spirit as Bernard constantly evinced was ever actuated by personal hatred or jealousy. No man of such self-effacement, such freedom from self-love and of such a forgiving nature that he not only could overlook insults, but actually, at one time, restrained indignant beholders from punishing an assailant who struck him upon the cheek—such a man would never descend to the meanness of personal hatred. These acts of indiscretion were simply the outcome of his eager desire for the highest welfare, as he regarded it, of the Church at large. As Dr. Storrs says: "A man more entirely sincere and unselfish in his spirit and aims, seems hardly to have lived since the apostles."

Moreover, in spite of this impetuosity, this too frequent harshness on the part of Bernard in the clashing of political or ecclesiastical opinions, very few public men were ever favored with so many devoted friends as he, for they saw through these occasional indiscretions and knew

that his heart was right. He had many an excited controversy with Suger and Peter the Venerable, yet they both loved him devotedly. Count Theobald of Champagne, a man of great wealth, was so impressed by his piety that he put himself and all his resources at the disposal of the monastery of Clairvaux, and from that time was Bernard's invaluable and devoted friend. We may also cite the case of Beatrice, 'a lady as distinguished for her piety as her birth' who emulated the example of Theobald and in her great admiration for Bernard's untiring efforts in establishing and caring for his numerous monasteries, rendered much assistance to him with her material resources. St. Malachy, Archbishop of Ireland, was so fond of him that he made two visits from his far-away home to Clairvaux, each time on his way to Rome. When he reached Rome he begged the Pope to let him leave Ireland and live with Bernard at Clairvaux. But the Pope would not consent to this. Nine years later, however, he made Bernard another visit, but was suddenly stricken with fever, died and was buried at Clairvaux, by his own express desire.* Bernard wrote his life which is considered one of the most interesting of his works.

Regarding the devotion of Peter the Venerable and Bernard, it speaks volumes for the piety of the two men that they were so fond of each other, for no two persons could be more unlike in temperament and in many of their views,—Bernard

* See Note 22.

intense, impetuous, sometimes impatient, often untactful, yet with a fervor and love for humanity born of God—Peter the Venerable calm, gentle yet firm, not easily provoked, a born peace-maker and with a wonderfully broad outlook on the spiritual needs of the time. In one respect, however, they were alike, they both enjoyed a joke, and this facetious turn of mind was continually cropping out in their letters and other writings. Doubtless this characteristic, with the French elasticity and buoyancy of temperament, tided them over many a rough wave of turbulence and disaster. That Peter the Venerable was no ordinary man is proved not only from the fact that he retained with eclat the distinguished position of abbot of Cluny for thirty-four years, but he gave to western Christendom its first accurate knowledge of the Koran. While travelling in Spain he had a translation of it made into Latin, at his own expense and that a very great one, realizing the necessity of the Christian Church being thoroughly informed as to the Mahometan religion which they were so strenuously combating in the Crusades. He himself wrote a refutation of Mahometanism.

That Peter the Venerable was brave and soldierly, was proven when he and his followers were attacked by robbers on their return from the Council of Pisa in 1134. He met their assaults with such vigor and dash that they slunk away fully beaten. This gives a hint of the secret of his success as abbot of the great Cluny, for with all his sweetness of disposition and affabil-

ity we see he had "plenty of solid pluck." When he became abbot in 1122 there were only three hundred inmates at Cluny, but at his death there were no less than ten thousand Cluniacs scattered over Christendom, being well established in Palestine and Constantinople, and a large share of this was due to his sagacity and statesmanship. His long and tender letter to Heloise after the death of Abelard is another insight into the beautiful nature and character of the man.

CHAPTER VI.

Abelard and Heloise

Perhaps the love-story of no other historical characters has ever been so extensively written about as that of Abelard and Heloise. The correspondence also which passed between them after their marriage and separation has elicited more interest, been more frequently translated and talked about than perhaps any other collection of letters.

Abelard, the oldest son of a nobleman, was born A.D. 1079 in a castle in Brittany in the village of Le Pallet near Nantes and naturally destined for the army, but he so early developed a taste and genius for study, that he willingly gave up his right of primogeniture to his younger brothers, and when only twenty years old went to Paris to attend the famous schools of philosophy. About three years later he established a school for himself in the city of Melun, at that time one of the residences of the king and only twenty-five miles from Paris. Here he attracted many scholars, for even at this early age he had evinced great power in argumentation and decided versatility of talent, being not only brilliant and witty in conversation and public address, but a fine singer and quite a poet. Later in life he composed nearly a

hundred hymns for use at the Paraclete for Heloise and her nuns.*

For ten years or more Abelard, restless by nature, wandered from place to place, teaching and lecturing, at one time breaking down from his arduous labors, and resting for a while at his home in Brittany. In 1113 he became head of the cathedral school which in the year 1175 or thereabouts developed into the famous "University of Paris". After gaining great renown for philosophical learning he began the study of theology under the celebrated Anselm of Laon, a pupil of the greater Anselm of Canterbury. But he soon came into collision with this instructor just as he had with William of Champeaux, for in philosophy as well as theology he was generally considered an extremist and looked upon with fear by the older and more conservative men. Forced by Anselm to leave Laon, he again went to Paris and gathered around him a throng of students, becoming so popular that men would hurry to their doors to see him pass and women would thrust aside their curtains to look at him. Combining all his accomplishments with an unusually fine physique and great elegance of manners, handsome in face and lithe in figure, it was not surprising that such a man should be a great favorite in society and that women were not only constantly falling in love with him but in some cases boldly declaring their love. Paris at this time was thronged with students from all parts of Europe, to listen to its

* See Note 23.

renowned instructors, and among them Abelard was the most conspicuous, for none could then compete with him in eloquence or brilliancy and acuteness of thought. It is said that twenty of his pupils became cardinals and more than fifty of them bishops. "Indeed the reach of his influence was truly continental. Popes, cardinals, archbishops and princes, as well as free thinkers and reformers were being in effect moulded by him for future work", and the City, great and famous even then by comparison with others, though insignificant and squalid as compared with its present magnificence, was 'triumphantly exalting him as the first of philosophers if not the first of living theologians.' It is said that within a year or two he had no less than 5000 pupils under his instruction, yet he was only thirty-six years old. This was indeed the heyday of Abelard's career and about this time he was appointed Canon in the Church.

But a great change now came about in his life. At this time, 1118, there lived near Abelard in Paris a Canon of the Cathedral, Fulton by name, and with him his beautiful niece, Heloise. An orphan, and thought to be of noble extraction, "her intellectual and literary pre-eminence were truly marvellous in that age, and her name was already famous throughout the kingdom for her unequalled powers and cultivation." She was not only familiar with the Latin authors but was a brilliant conversationalist in that language,* and

* See Note 24.

was also well versed in Greek, an unusual accomplishment in the twelfth century. Some knowledge of the difficult Hebrew language was another of her accomplishments. She was, moreover, of lofty aspirations and very winning in manner. After studying in the convent at Argenteuil, not far from Paris, she had now come to live in the gay and intellectual capital.

No sooner had Abelard met Heloise than he was greatly attracted to her, and the feeling was fully reciprocated on her part. Abelard, determined to win her, succeeded in being admitted into her uncle's house as a regular inmate, and became her tutor. At this time she was only eighteen while Abelard was thirty-nine. Although he really loved her, he selfishly took advantage of her youth and inexperience, and instead of bringing about a marriage, he hurried her off to Brittany where she gave birth to a son. The uncle's fury knew no bounds, in consequence of which Abelard proposed a marriage, but only on condition of its being a secret one in order to prevent marring his prospects of advancement in the Church. Heloise, with all the nobility of a remarkably unselfish nature, at first refused to listen to the idea of marriage, having such deep affection for Abelard that she was unwilling to stand in the way of churchly emolument for him, but finally yielded, not, however, without the direst forebodings. When her uncle divulged the secret of the marriage, she, still determined to shield her husband, stoutly denied it, and her life was made so unbearable

that she fled to her old convent of Argenteuil. Her uncle, supposing that Abelard wished to get rid of her, perpetrated such a terrible revenge upon him as accentuates the coarseness and brutality of the times.

After this, misfortune seemed to follow Abelard through the remainder of his life, and he sunk to the position of a mere monk, subject for several years to his abbot. Entering the famous abbey of St. Denis, he soon met with opposition from the monks and Abbot, and consequently repaired to a priory near by where he spent his time in writing and lecturing, a great company of admiring students again gathering around him. But once more his writings aroused enmity and at the Council of Soissons* they were condemned and he himself was obliged to burn them, while he was shut up in a convent not far from Paris. His friends, however, rallied around him and indignantly opposed such unjust treatment, in consequence of which he was allowed to go back to his monastery at St. Denis. But here he had never been comfortable and again the monks so antagonized him that he fled to the province of Champagne where he remained among friends until he gained permission on easy terms to live where he pleased. He then went with only one attendant to a secluded place near Troyes, twenty miles or so from Clairvaux, built himself a small hut and lived for a time like a hermit. Here he was soon, however, followed by crowds of stu-

* See Note 25.

dents from Paris, who erected for themselves rude cabins but built for their beloved teacher a stone house and a beautiful church which he gratefully called the Paraclete or Comforter. Here his influence again widened, but his splendid physique was shattered. He became timid, suspicious and restless. Bernard, whose fame was already assured, although twelve years younger than Abelard, was near by, and the two men were so utterly at variance in thought and aspirations that the latter feared him. It is probable, however, that at this time they had never personally met.

In 1125 Abelard received an invitation to become abbot of St. Gildas in his own native province—Brittany, which he accepted, but this new step also proved a failure, for the monks were unmanageable and licentious, and the region in every respect wholly unfit for a man of culture and refinement like Abelard. He made every effort to reform the monks, but they so antagonized him as to make several attempts at poisoning, even descending to the awful sacrilege of putting poison into the Eucharistic cup used by Abelard. Added to these trials, before he left St. Gildas he had a severe fall from his horse which caused a long illness.

Duing this time, however, he was able to accomplish one deed which gave him the greatest satisfaction. When Heloise fled to the convent of Argenteuil she took the veil before quite reaching the age of twenty, and in time became Lady

Abbess of the Institution. But during Abelard's stay at St. Gildas the convent of Argenteuil had been claimed, thus depriving Heloise and her nuns of a home. Abelard then gained permission to pass over to her the Paraclete which was converted into a convent; and she was established as its Abbess, while for many years this institution enjoyed great prosperity. Infinitely nobler than Abelard, her terrible afflictions only strengthened her powers of affection and self-sacrifice. Cousin said of her: "She loved like Saint Theresa, she wrote like Seneca, while her irresistible grace charmed Saint Bernard himself." De Remusat says that "her century put her at the head of all women," and he adds: "I do not know that posterity has contradicted her century." After her death she was described in the annals of her convent as "Mother and first abbess of this house, most illustrious in learning and religion."

Remaining for some time in Brittany after his departure from St. Gildas, Abelard there wrote, besides other works, the famous "History of My Calamities", reminding one of the Confessions of St. Augustine and of Rousseau. A copy of this book falling into the hands of Heloise was the cause of the remarkable correspondence between her and Abelard. There is much in this autobiography of Abelard, and in the correspondence between him and Heloise, to stagger our respect for the latter, until we seek to understand more fully the character of the times and her own remarkable character. Abelard's great self esteem

causes him to describe every event of his life as the result of careful planning on his part. This explains his strange confession in the "History of My Calamities" that he deliberately planned Heloise's ruin. Two biographers of St. Bernard have interpreted this confession literally, but Dr. Poole agrees with Remusat, Abelard's wisest biographer, that 'to those who read his words with a deeper perception of his character, such an explanation is incredible.' Abelard deceives himself and misinterprets his own guilt.

A fine analysis of Heloise's and Abelard's relation to each other in their later lives is given in "The Mediaeval Mind". Having analyzed the true inwardness of mediaeval life, which was so notoriously loose regarding wedlock, the author explains most satisfactorily how Heloise could say: "If Augustus, the master of the world, would honor me with marriage and invest me with equal rule, it would seem to me dearer and more honorable to be called thy strumpet than his empress" —and yet remain at heart a pure woman. Had she lived in our day, we have no doubt a woman as noble and self-sacrificing as she would also have had our loftier ideas of the married state.

In 1136 Abelard again lectured for a short time at Mt. St. Genevieve, near Paris, one of his old rallying points, but those who feared the influence of these lectures, again assailed him and at the great Council of Sens in 1140, Bernard who had been prevailed upon, at first much against his

will, to bring charges of heresy against him, at last with conscientious and characteristic fervor consented to arraign him. But, much to the consternation of all, when Bernard, in the great and distinguished assembly, called for the reading of passages from the writings of Abelard which he deemed heretical, the latter suddenly refused to defend himself and demanded an appeal to the Pope, immediately leaving the Council. Bernard pleaded with him to reply, assuring him that he was perfectly safe in so doing, but it was of no avail. Bernard then felt the absolute necessity of judgment being passed on these passages. This was accordingly done, and nearly all of them were condemned. The report was then sent to the Pope to be acted upon by him. While on his way to Rome, resting at Cluny, Abelard learned that Pope Innocent had condemned him and his writings, but through the influence of the Abbot, Peter the Venerable, he was allowed to remain at this monastery where he peacefully lingered for nearly two years, evincing a remarkable change from the haughty and defiant spirit of earlier days, for 'now his habits were austere, his manner humble, while he was diligently observant of the sacraments and of prayer.' During his stay at Cluny the Abbot succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between him and Bernard, Abelard even speaking of him as his friend. Shortly before his death he was sent by the Abbot to St. Marcel near Chalon-sur-Saone, hoping the change

might be beneficial, but there he died and was buried April, 1142, aged sixty-three. As he had expressed a wish, years before, that he might be buried at the Paraclete where his beloved Heloise still lived, the noble abbot himself transferred the body to that convent, and there twenty-two years after, Heloise was laid near him in the same crypt. 430 years later, in 1594, the bones were exhumed and found still unchanged. They were then placed in one double casket and entombed in one of the chapels. They were almost miraculously preserved during the French Revolution, for, though the church itself was destroyed, the coffin of the distinguished lovers was respected. Their remains were finally removed to Paris, and in 1817, were entombed in the famous cemetery of Pere Lachaise where they have remained ever since. 'Votive offerings are never wanting on their tomb and Paris counts it among the most sacred of its possessions.'

Bernard has often been severely criticised for the course he took in his theological controversy with Abelard, and for the result of the Council of Sens in 1140, but it does not seem that he could have been true to his own strong convictions and at the same time have done very differently. Abelard disclaimed the inspiration of the Bible and permitted 'scarcely anything of the hidden and divine to remain in the most commanding mysteries,' flippantly declaring that the doctrine of the Trinity could be fully understood by men in this life. Bernard cared little or nothing for the phil-

TOMB OF ABELARD AND HELOISE

osophy of Abelard and antagonized the bold disputant only when he spoke disdainfully of the great doctrine of faith. From the standpoint of the twentieth century, the decision of the councils of Soissons and Sens were clearly acts of injustice, but from the standpoint of the twelfth century and from the widely divergent character of the two men, we cannot greatly blame Bernard, with his sensitive love for the highest welfare of the church, for taking the course he did against Abelard. Yet, on the other hand, whatever may be our estimate of the theologoical views of Abelard, this much must always be remembered, that he stoutly held to the idea that every man has a right to the expression of his own opinion and that no priest or pope could deprive him of this right. Such a doctrine meant real progress in the twelfth century. Abelard, up to the last year or two of his life, was purely intellectual, wielding it is true, a mighty power over his followers, but is it not still a mooted question as to whether he "was imcomparably the greatest intellect of the Middle Ages?" As to Gilbert de la Porée Abelard's contemporary, Britannica says that he was the most profound metaphysician of either the Realists or Nominalists,* and the most eminent logician of the Realistic school in the twelfth century.

* See Note 26.

CHAPTER VII.

St. Bernard's Last Years

In 1146 came another clarion call from the Pope. The second Crusade against the Turks had been inaugurated and Bernard was appointed its preacher. Prematurely broken and feeble as he was, he again girded on his armor and went forth to do his superior's bidding, becoming more than anyone else the real organizer of this extraordinary though disastrous expedition.

Taking that memorable tour through France and western Germany, he quickly won not only his own nation to the cause, but even the Germans, who were at first decidedly opposed to the Crusade. Indeed, they were aroused to such a pitch of enthusiasm that trade was suspended, a great and ever increasing army of men following him from town to town, so that many places were left almost deserted by the male population.

When in the cathedrals or open squares, "the winged words fly from his lips", urging all in tenderest tones to give up their sins, and then hurling at them his terrible denunciation of those sins, a breathless hush steals over the great, surging throng, loud sobs are heard, old men hardened in vice, and young men steeped in revolting sins humbly confess the wickedness of their past

lives and beg the privilege of joining the Crusade. Even robbers and brigands came together from all parts and vowed that they would shed their blood for Christ.

And this irresistible magnetism, this almost magical power over men had been Bernard's from early manhood, for when he was seeking assistance in establishing the many monasteries of his order, strong, vigorous men in the prime of life would stand spell-bound before the mighty rush of his eloquence, and would meekly follow his bidding like little children, so that wives and mothers would hide their husbands and sons for fear of losing them. Even his own family bowed to his indomitable spirit and eloquence. His cousin Robert and an uncle, Lord of Touillon, a man of exceptional ability and prominence, as also his four brothers, the eldest having already gained renown,—all these left the warrior's exciting career to take up the monotonous life of ordinary monks. Moreover, entirely through his influence, his only sister, Hombeline, luxuriating in all the pomp and splendor lavished upon her by her distinguished husband, renounced her high rank as feudal lady, entered a convent and became by her fastings and vigils as devout an ascetic as her mother or Bernard himself. It is supposed that later she founded the Cistercian order of nuns called Bernardines. Every member of his family entered the monastic life through his influence, even his father, the valiant knight, late in life be-

came a monk at Clairvaux, and died in the arms of his best loved son.

Of all the important cities of western Germany which Bernard visited at this time, none was older or more noted historically than Speyer.* Here the Imperial courts convoked; here Charlemagne was often seen; here endless family feuds and political jealousies caused bloody conflicts to stain its massive walls; and here, nearly four hundred years after Bernard's visit, the famous "Diet of Speyer" convened, at which the reformers made their celebrated protest, from which they first received the name of Protestant.

Here may be found today one of the finest examples of the Romanesque Basilica in all Europe; and its present exterior condition is much the same that it was in Bernard's day. Although quite unadorned externally, it produces an impression of majestic solidity and of stateliness combined with noble simplicity the equal of which is rarely to be found in Europe.* Surely no more appropriate church could have been found for the preaching of St. Bernard—a perfect type of his own marvellous moral strength and simplicity of character.

We shall never forget our own first impressions of this interesting cathedral while passing through the elegant modern Kaiser-Halle and the nave, just as the western sun shot through the rose window, reflecting its glory of sapphire, to-

* See Note 27.

paz, ruby and emerald on the cold white statuary of the hall; and touching with magic wand the great, pictured octagon. This cathedral surely has one of the grandest interiors in all Europe. Standing at the western end, and looking straight through the majestic nave, past the king's choir into the eastern apse, the effect is very inspiring.

While this church holds a unique place in the history of architecture; while to the German patriot it is sacred as the last earthly home of deceased royalty, to the student of history it is particularly interesting as the scene of some of the most thrilling events in the life of Bernard of Clairvaux. It is quite safe to say that no greater event occurred in all the history of this ancient church than the preaching within its walls of this all-powerful abbot who has often been called the "Reformer before the Reformation."

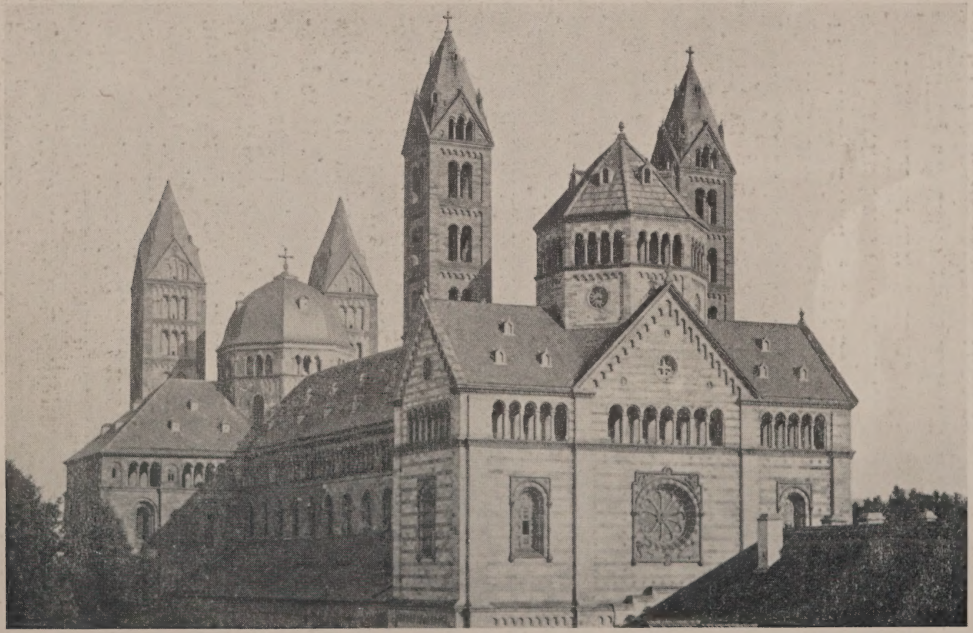
It was Christmas tide when Bernard entered Spires, but in spite of the cold weather, the people stood in dense throngs on the banks of the river, waiting impatiently for the vessel to pass by which was slowly bearing him to the town. Conducted through the city with great pomp and amid the sounds of bells and sacred hymns, he finally arrived at the cathedral. Here he was escorted by the king himself, Conrad III,* and a great number of princes, one of whom was the famous Frederic Barbarossa, who later became Emperor of Germany. Upon reaching the choir he preached a most eloquent sermon; then, suddenly turning

* See Note 28.

upon the king, he pictured before him with all the vividness of an Angelo, the last judgment, summoning him before his Judge, reproaching him for ingratitude and calling him to account for the misuse he was making of all his privileges and power of royalty. In the midst of the discourse, Conrad burst into tears and acknowledged his duty and willingness to join the Crusade. Then Bernard put the sacred banner in his hands and "at the same moment all the princes knelt at the feet of the holy preacher and asked for the pilgrim's cross." Immediately the vast throng raised a tumultuous shout of praise and exultation which reverberated throughout the great cathedral, and the news was rapidly spread over the whole city and neighboring towns, arousing the wildest enthusiasm. Thus was Conrad III won as leader of the Germany army of the Second Crusade after having persistently opposed it.

Bernard was in Spires nearly two weeks, conducting services in the cathedral each day, and the grand old church has never forgotten the impassioned words of this saintly man, for on its walls are pictured in vivid colors the story of his arrival there, his vision, his prayer at the altar, his presentation of the banner to Conrad, and one of his miracles. And down through the ages, even to the nineteenth century, the Salve Regina was sung here daily in his honor, while for many years plates of brass were in the pavement marking his footsteps.

And this knightly man, this scion of a Lordly



CATHEDRAL OF SPIRES

house, honored by pope and emperor, reverenced by princes and kings, adored by the humble and ignorant, went home to the quiet, retired Clairvaux after all this pomp and triumphal progress through France and Germany—went home and again took up the lowly duties of his every day life as simply and gladly as if nothing at all unusual had occurred; performing the most menial services, even washing dishes, numbering the pigs, feeding the hens and greasing his own shoes.

But the time came, by reason of ever increasing physical weakness, when Bernard was obliged to give up all intellectual and manual labor. He had fearlessly stood before infuriated mobs, sternly crushing brutal persecutions. He had repeatedly rebuked emperors, popes and kings in scorching words. He had given his entire life in self-sacrificing labors for God and his fellow-men, yet in all meekness and sincerity he told his beloved flock at Clairvaux that he was deprived of the privilege of working with them because of his sins, and added: "Please God, that speaking and not doing, I may be worthy to be found, if only the least, in the kingdom of heaven."

When we consider those rude days of human greed and strife, a period which, only sixty years previous to Bernard's birth had been one of the darkest times of European history, also Bernard's close affiliation for twenty-five years with the most distinguished men of his century, many of them of intense ambition, we are amazed at the majesty of this great man's life. His wonderful

humility, childlike in its perfect sincerity, for no matter how much adulation he received he was never thrown off his balance, never thought more highly of himself than he ought;* his utter unselfishness and indifference to his own aggrandizement; his scornful rejection of all worldly emoluments, repeatedly refusing ecclesiastical distinction, four bishoprics having been eagerly pressed upon him, besides the famous archbishoprics of Milan and Rheims—the latter the most distinguished in France. So tender and loving that when his brother Gerard died, his anguish was so great that he could not preach, but declared in passionate sorrow that from that time on to survive him was labor and grief, this occurring too when most deeply involved in political and ecclesiastical affairs. So conscientious that when, as a mere child, a woman once attempted to cure him of some illness, by magic—so common in those days—in hot and holy indignation he literally drove her from his door. With such lofty ideas as to purity of life, that, when a young man, he once looked upon a beautiful woman, in all probability improperly dressed, and an impure thought flashed through his mind, he punished himself by dashing into a pool of ice-cold water, remaining there till nearly dead. So utterly fearless in denouncing sinners of high repute, that when the all-powerful and wealthy Duke of Aquitaine, William (Queen Eleanor's father) cruelly deprived some bishops of their sees, this fragil monk sternly

* See Note 29.

faced the brutal giant, and 'with fiery eyes and tones of terrible authority' commanded him to give the kiss of peace to one of these bishops. Completely overwhelmed by the Abbot's awful warnings he meekly obeyed, and from that time was a changed man, repenting of his sins and devoting himself henceforth, it is said, to a religious life.

CHAPTER VIII.

St. Bernard Of Clairvaux—His Death—Place In Church History.

Bernard experienced many vicissitudes during the later years of his public career, when, worn almost to a shadow, and much of the time so ill that any other man would have been confined to his bed, he particularly longed for the quiet of his dearly beloved Clairvaux. But all through those last ten years, heresies or public contentions of some kind were constantly appearing throughout France, and Bernard would be called upon to travel sometimes hundreds of miles to stamp out or quell them.* Added to these trials, in the year 1149 the great failure and calamity of the Second Crusade, which Bernard had so strenuously advocated, became fully known, and upon him fell the burden of responsibility and blame. This he bore with far greater equanimity than most persons could have done, for he cared little for the praise or blame of men, but it was a great grief to him that the cause of true religion had suffered in this case.

Two years before his death Bernard was visited with another great calamity in the treachery of his secretary Nicholas, in whom he placed im-

* See Note 30

plicit confidence. He had used Bernard's seal in writing letters recommending men to whom the Abbot was most strongly and justly opposed. He had also committed other acts of duplicity. Bernard's health too was now very precarious. Insomnia crept upon him, his limbs were enormously swollen, and his stomach troubles prevented him from taking any solid food. Yet with no thought of being before the public eye, he still took the same interest in affairs of church and state. Only five months before his death while on his sick bed at Clairvaux, he heard of a terrible outbreak between the nobles and the burghers of Metz, a hundred or more miles from his home. The archbishop not being able to quell the conflict, came to Bernard in his great trouble and besought him to interfere. Once more and for the last time his unconquerable spirit arose to the emergency, and he went forth to Metz, carried on a litter, and effected a marvellous reconciliation between the hostile parties.

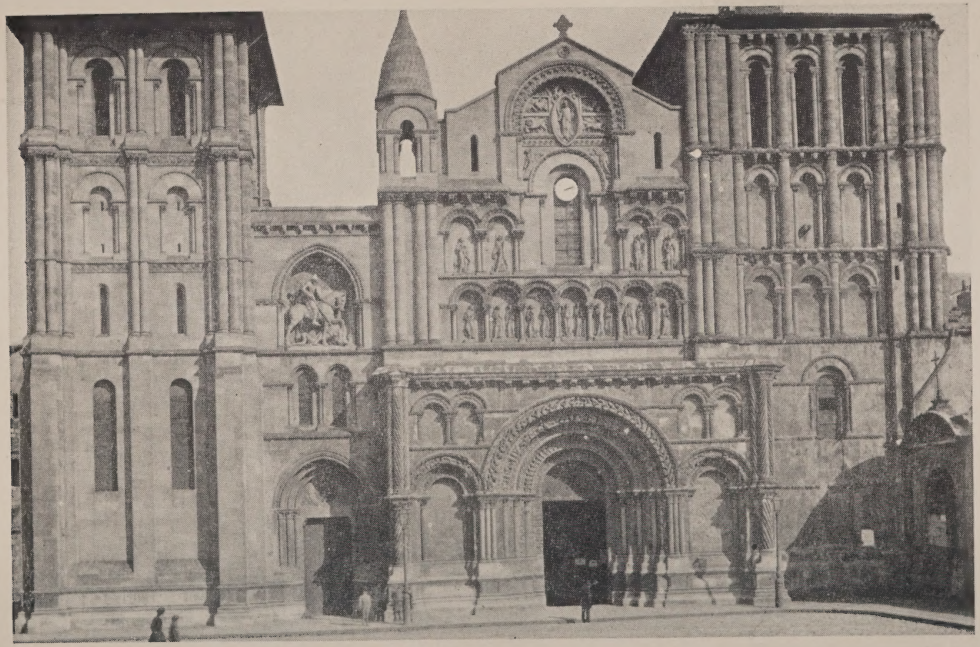
But during the last few months public affairs no longer interested him. Most of his nearest kin had passed away and some of his dearest friends: Pope Eugenius III; Theobald, Count of Champagne; William, Abbot of Thierry, who wrote a life of Bernard, and Suger. At the last he was ready and glad to depart, but the weeping monks and friends implored him not to leave them desolate. Raising his eyes he faintly murmured: "God's will be done," and 'the silver cord was loosed, the golden bowl broken.'

'As soon as it was known beyond the precincts of the Abbey that Bernard had expired, mourning multitudes of men and women gathered at the monastery gates of Clairvaux, although, according to monastic rule, the latter were not allowed to enter the church where the body lay. But the men crowded all the avenues of approach until the dense masses of visitors became so unmanageable that his monks were obliged to bury him secretly early in the morning.'

Bernard died August 20, 1153 aged sixty-two, leaving seven hundred monks at Clairvaux—his beloved children, as he called them.

He was canonized only twenty years after his death, an unusual honor even in the twelfth century, for in later times the Catholic church generally waited at least a hundred years before canonizing the deceased. In Bernard's day, canonization was the greatest honor that the church could bestow.

Bernard's writings consist of letters, treatises, sermons and hymns, many of which are still extant in Latin and French. A few of the sermons and treatises have been translated into English. Of the five hundred letters extant, most of these may now be found in our language. Some of them are very interesting, tersely written and decidedly business-like, while others give a good idea of the customs of the time. They also show better than anything else he has written, the wonderful breadth of his loving, sympathetic nature, as well as the remarkably practical and common-sense



CHURCH OF STE. CROIX, BORDEAUX

side of his character. He wrote to men and women of all grades of social life, from the highest—even emperors, popes and kings—to the humblest, but always writing at greatest length to the poor and ignorant. His lovable nature is beautifully revealed in his numerous letters to Pope Eugenius III, calling him his son, though at the same time addressing him with utmost reverence as pontiff. "Tho' you sit on Peter's seat and walk on the wings of the wind, you will never outstrip my affection. Tho' I no longer act as a mother to you, I have not lost a mother's affection for you." The correspondence between Bernard and Peter the Venerable, the distinguished abbot of Cluny, is also exceedingly interesting. Peter, in one of these letters, says: "As your love claimed me wholly thenceforth, so did your virtues and the beauty of your character seize me. This love for you I have stored up in my bosom and hold it dearer than all the gold in the world, more precious than all jewels." And Bernard replies: "I rejoice in the privilege of your love, I am refreshed out of the abundant sweetness of your heart, and I was made joyful that one so great as you should trouble to present one so insignificant as I with the blessings of goodness." Yet Bernard at this very time was far the greater man of the two, and more conspicuous, for he had just ended the notorious seven years' schism and all Europe was singing paeans to his fame. Nevertheless he was wholly sincere in this humble estimate of himself. Some years later Peter wrote

to Bernard: 'If the direction of one's life were in his own power, I would have preferred, my best beloved, to be attached to you by an indissoluble bond rather than to be a prince anywhere among mortals or to rule with kingly authority. Why should I not? Ought not a dwelling with you to be preferred by me to all earthly crowns when it is dear not to men only but to angels themselves.' "If it had been given me to be with you even to my last breath, it would perhaps be given me after death to be forever where you might be." And Bernard replies: "What are you doing, my beloved friend? You are praising a sinner, you are beatifying a wretched man, I am most happy in being loved by you and in loving you. However, I do not think that this sweet morsel which you offer me ought to be swallowed whole, nor even admitted into the mouth, because I cannot see anything in myself which makes me worthy of love, especially such as yours. I know, too, that a righteous man will never wish to be loved more than is right."

Bernard's sermons and treatises prove him to have been in theology a conservative Catholic, stoutly rejecting the doctrines of papal infallibility and the immaculate conception, while he believed most firmly in justification by faith. A thorough but orthodox mystic, believing in visions and supernatural revelations, most spiritual and devout, his theology was born of the heart, and the one great point which he most strenuously contended for was that faith in Christ and a

life conformed to that profession can alone secure an eternal home in the heavenly habitations.

Many of his later sermons are 'rich in imagination, full of delicate fancy and very poetical, especially those on the Songs of Solomon, and others are lighted up by quaint conceits and sly humor.' His masterpiece in prose, and one of his latest productions, a brief treatise, "On Consideration" which consists of advice to Eugenius III, written by request of the Pope himself, has recently been translated into English for the first time.*

All are familiar with some of his most beautiful hymns, "O Sacred Head Now Wounded" being one of the best known. Regarding

> "Jesus, the very thought of Thee
> With sweetness fills my breast,"

it seems a shame to deprive Bernard, at this late day, of the authorship of this beautiful hymn which we are so accustomed to seeing in the church Hymnals with his name always affixed to it, and especially when such great authorities as Archbishop Trench and John Julian think it belongs to him, but one of the most complete books in Hymnology: *"Hymns Ancient and Modern"* published in London 1909, says that this hymn was found in manuscripts of the eleventh century and it is ascribed to a Benedictine abbess. This writer also says that Bernard's authorship of it was always doubtful.

* See Note 31.

Protestants have generally been very sceptical regarding the miracles of Bernard, but Dr. Storrs in his valuable work on this saint and his times, accepts the words of Neander concerning miracles in general since apostolic days, and seems to believe that many attributed to Bernard, during his life, may have been genuine. Whatever may be the common verdict, we can but admire Bernard's own extreme humility with regard to them.

It has been said of Bernard that he was a child of his age, that he was no thinker, that he was not in advance of his times. But listen to what Frederic Harrison the English writer says of him: "The last effort of Bernard's life was a comprehensive survey of the entire system of church government, and there with prophetic spirit he sees the evils into which it is hurrying from excessive centralization, and the lust of arbitrary power; urges on the Pope a plan of saving it from ultimate ruin, and points out most of the dangers and at least some of the remedies which appear in the crises of the Reformation." Dr. Storrs also says: "If we properly bear in mind the temper and trend of secular and religious life in Bernard's time, we can better understand the unsurpassed force and patience with which he wrought for effects which he thought radically essential to civilized progress, the value of some of which to our own time we must frankly admit."

Sometimes, it may be, the reach of his vision was obscured by his conservatism, his clinging too rigidly to the old order of things, yet his spirit

ual insight was so keenly alive to every moral evil, he was so tremendously in earnest and fearless in denouncing the sins of his day, besides putting forth every effort to mitigate those evils, that this made him a real reformer.

His noble defense of the Jews at Mayence while preaching the Second Crusade, is only one of the many striking evidences that he was far in advance of his times. "The man who was capable of rising so far superior to the prejudices of his age, was also the only one who would have dared to swoop down on this frantic city like an avenging angel, to confront the furious and yelling mobs, and their loud-tongued leader, Rudolph, to stretch his hand between them and their helpless victims, and reduce both the one and the other to silence and submission."

The vast reach of his intellectual and spiritual power through his letters must also be remembered. From Spain and Portugal throughout all Europe, and even to Jerusalem, his letters and advice were so continuously in demand, that we marvel at his ability to carry on so extensive a correspondence in the midst of his other manifold activities and his miserably poor health. No one of course considers Bernard a profound thinker like Anslem of Canterbury, but his writings give abundant evidence of great spirituality of thought, and some of his "word pictures glow and sparkle like gems."

Mabillon, the most distinguished editor of Bernard's Works, says in his best edition of 1690,

that he was not only well versed in the Bible, both the Old and the New Testament, as his writings abundantly prove, but that he was familiar with the Works of the ancient Fathers, St. Augustine, the greatest of them all, being his favorite. 'In his *"Life of Archbishop Malachi"* Bernard attains a degree of purity, of clearness, of elegance and originality, which no writer of his age, not even John of Salisbury, has surpasssed.' Indeed we have every reason to suppose, and the above statements seem to bear out our theory—knowing also his natural taste for literature in youth—that, during his ten or twelve years pursuit of study in Chatillon, one of the centers of twelfth century culture in Burgundy, he became familiar with Virgil and other classical writers.*

'From the thirteenth century, the professors of schools, the orators and the mystical writers drew from Bernard more than any of the other Fathers, Greek or Latin, except Augustine.' Luther† and Calvin spoke in the highest terms of him and greatly enjoyed his writings, while Thomas á Kempis in his *"Imitation of Christ"*—which, it is said, has been more widely read than any other book except the Bible—drew largely from the Works of Bernard, especially from his sermons on the "Song of Songs." 'If we except the four great Doctors of the Latin Church (St. Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose and Gregory the Great) Bernard's Works, of all the Fathers were the most often copied in the middle ages and, after

* See Note 32.
† See Note 33.

the invention of printing, there was a remarkable increase of copies. There are now five hundred different editions of his works, all the nations of Europe contributing to this success, France having two hundred editions either of his complete or partial writings.' "There never was a time when Bernard's life and works were so closely studied as now", at least among the Catholics.

Though as a reformer Bernard holds no such commanding place in the world's history as Luther, the church in the twelfth century being far less corrupt than in the sixteenth, the time had not yet come for the necessity of such a step as Luther took. Bernard was not one whit behind Luther in moral or physical courage and daring. He was indeed preeminently the prophet of his day, providentially raised up to do a great work in purifying the church, and grandly did he fulfill that mission by pen and voice and example.

Since the loftiest unselfishness, early blossoming into ceaseless activity and devotion to the highest interests of mankind, is the grandest thing on earth; since biography has recorded very few such stainless lives as Bernard's even from birth to death; since simplicity, sincerity and humility are so lovely and so rare, especially when combined with keenness of intellect and marvellous insight into human nature—since he possessed all these traits to an almost unprecedented degree, his name will shine brighter and brighter in the annals of church history. Through the mist of ages, his limitations and faults being pass-

ed over or better understood, the heavenly spirit of the man who followed so closely in the footsteps of his Divine Master, will be more and more clearly discerned.

CHAPTER IX.

Churches—Cluny

As there is nothing which gives in general a better idea of twelfth century life in some of its peculiar phases, than the history of its most famous churches, we mention a few of those which were associated with some of the principal events of Bernard's public career. It seems especially appropriate to do this, inasmuch as nearly every one of the churches mentioned in this chapter were being at this time more elaborately reconstructed or enlarged and ornamented with statues, stained windows, frescoes and other costly furnishings, also because the remarkable progress of architecture,—notably in the matter of vaulting and the pointed style as superseding the round,—constituted one of the striking features of the twelfth century. Moreover, the various writers on mediaeval architecture, all seem to acknowledge these seven churches as typical structures, that is as representing at the present day, the different styles of twelfth century architecture better on the whole than any other churches of France. And they also still retain more and finer twelfth century work in stained glass and sculpture than perhaps any others in France.

The question was continually confronting Bernard as to how far it was right to carry on this

vast expenditure in view of the awful poverty and distress still so prevalent among the lower classes.* Indeed this enthusiasm for church building was so wide-spread that it formed a real obstacle in Bernard's efforts in the preaching of the second crusade. "Princes, nobles, men-at-arms, high born women with their own hands drew to the appointed sites the materials for the work" on these churches.

Probably no other mediaeval churches in France are richer in historical associations than the cathedrals of St. Denis (suburb of Paris) Chartres and Sens.

Built on the site of a chapel dedicated to St. Denis or Dionysius, who suffered martyrdom here about 275 A.D., this beautiful abbey church was first consecrated in the early part of the seventh century. Having been rebuilt several times, once by Charlemagne, who was anointed king here, for more than 1100 years it was the repository of the deceased kings with their families, and its entire history through the centuries is of surpassing interest. Here the great Suger was abbot for twenty-eight years, and under his administration the Abbey became not only one of the chief centres of religious power in France, but frequently that of royal authority as well, for Suger strongly favored kingly power rather than the papal. St. Denis counted many powerful lords and even several kings among her abbots, but the greatest of them all was Suger.

* See Note 35.

ST. DENIS. NEAR PARIS

About 1121 (according to many authorities) Suger caused the church to be reconstructed on a much grander scale, retaining, however, the ancient crypt and some of Dagobert's elegant marble columns. Arousing the greatest enthusiasm among the people, men, women and children harnessed themselves to waggons, and singing hymns joyously dragged heavy stones to the church, in the same manner as was done at Chartres some years later. Suger planned and superintended the building himself, really acting as its architect, and what is left at the present day of his work—part of the western facade, the vestibule or narthex, and the choir aisles—still bears the impress of his genius; the boldness of the plan, the lightness of the design, the beauty and character of the sculptures, though it should be stated that the present statues on the western front are largely a work of restoration.* Although the church was consecrated in 1144 it was not finished until a hundred years or so later. It is generally considered the first important success of the Gothic movement in France, and distinguished authors on architecture emphasize this idea in speaking of it as the most important of all transitional movements. The south tower is considered by some the most beautiful one in all Europe.

Suger, being a great lover of art and a passionate collector of jewels and precious stones, richly adorned his church with these treasures, which undoubtedly was the cause of his controversy in

* See Note 36.

1125 with Bernard who considered such churchly ornamentation a snare to the worshippers. Suger replied, 'that every man should act in these matters according to his own conscience, but as for himself he gloried in the fact that the more valuable a thing is the more it should be consecrated to God.' This was probably a verbal controversy as Bernard visited Suger at St. Denis some time during this year.

In 1137 Louis VII and Eleanor were crowned in this church, and six years later we read of a special visit made here by Bernard in order to bring about peace between the King and Count Theobald, the former's intimate friend and benefactor, but his efforts were foiled by the interference of Queen Eleanor, whom he sternly reproved for her meddlesome spirit.

Only a few weeks before the departure of Louis VII and Eleanor on the Second Crusade in 1147, they celebrated Easter in the church of St. Denis, when Pope Eugenius III officiated and there was such a crowd of people and so much excitement that Eleanor was obliged to hasten away for fear of fainting.

This is the oldest church of any size near Paris, being forty years older than Notre Dame of that city. The central part of the present crypt is believed to belong to the church previous to that of Suger's. All the tombs of the martyrs and of the kings and queens which had been placed here previous to Bernard's day, were probably intact in the twelfth century. During

the Reign of Terror in Paris (1789) the tombs of St. Denis were all opened and the contents thrown into a great trench. Not till twenty-five years later were they collected and placed in the crypt. The tombs themselves, though greatly injured in that revolution, have been finely restored and make a very important and interesting collection of mediaeval art.

Chartres Cathedral is so famous, and has been so frequently described that we attempt no detailed account of it here, but would call to mind the fact that it was associated with two of the most momentous episodes of Bernard's life,—his journey through France with Innocent II during the seven years' schism, and his preaching of the Second Crusade. To be sure the present condition of this cathedral with its glorious stained glass windows,—one hundred and sixty in all,—its majestic though somewhat severe western facade flanked by two spired towers, one of which rivals all other European spires in form and proportion, and those wonderful twelfth century triple doors having over seven hundred statues, is quite different from the cathedral Bernard worshipped in when he visited this city in 1131 or 1132 and won Henry I of England to the cause of Innocent II.

Probably no other city in France has been so afflicted with devastating fires and ravages of war as Chartres, but historians seem to make it plain that between the years 1030 and 1134 the

city escaped all such disasters and that during this period the church slowly grew to a finished state, Queen Matilda, wife of William the Conqueror, paying for the bells and for a leaden roof. This, then, was its condition upon Bernard's first recorded visit: parts at least of Bishop Fulton's facade, built about 1025, besides his nave and crypt were in existence, and in this crypt were still the two famous relics,—the Druidical statue of the Virgin and Child, and the tunic or chemise said to have once belonged to her, both of these having been worshipped all through the centuries. Whatever we may think of such credulity, local chronicles state that all the queens of France had a deep veneration for this garment, and each of them before the birth of a future king received from Chartres a silk chemise which had lain nine days upon its sacred shrine. This garment appears on the seal of the present cathedral and models of it are still sold.

In the twelfth century this crypt was a shrine of such remarkable fame that the sick begged the privilege of spending days here under ground, and devoted women lived there in order to take care of these pious invalids. The present crypt is the vastest in all France and one of the largest in the world, its galleries being nearly *seven hundred* feet in extent. It belongs to many periods, some parts showing the heavy masonry of the Romans, also remains of the ninth and tenth centuries and some very ancient frescoes.

Only two or three years after this first visit of

CHARTRES CATHEDRAL

Bernard to Chartres in 1131 or 1132, another terrible fire nearly destroyed the whole town, and the western part of the church was so much damaged that it was decided to rebuild it. It was at this period 1134-1150 that the wonderful figures of the western portals, generally considered the most splendid single collection of early Gothic statues in existence, were sculptured, and the Jesse window erected. As this exquisite Jesse-tree in stained glass,—exquisite in its wonderful harmony of colors,—closely resembles the one placed by order of Suger in the western facade of St. Denis about 1142, in all probability they are both the work of the same artist.

When Bernard preached the Second Crusade in Chartres in 1146, he certainly gazed upon many of these unrivalled statues, and notwithstanding his views regarding the sumptuousness of churches in his day, he must have felt the same inspiration and uplift which the artists themselves did, for the making of them in many cases was as much an act of worship as the prayers in the inner sanctuary of the church, for which these sculptured Bible stories on the outer doors prepared the worshippers. A man of such keen sense of beauty as Bernard, not only sensitive to all religious impressions, but his whole life wrapped up in the welfare of the church of God, would most certainly be one of the first to grasp the idea of worship as expressed in the saintly faces sculptured on these doors, especially as he knew

that many of their sculptors were men of real piety.

Although several very serious disasters have befallen Chartres cathedral since Bernard's latest visit there, the Jesse window, which is the northern lancet, the three western portals and the very statues which he saw are still in existence, as also the three lancet windows.*

Sens, seventy miles west of Clairvaux, in Bernard's day was one of the most important cities of northern France, and one of the most ancient in the whole country, for 400 years B. C. it was the capital of a sturdy Gallic tribe who invaded Italy and took possession of Rome. In Bernard's day it was also the archbishopric of a vast province to which no less than seven important cities —even Paris being one of them,—were ecclesiastically subject, they themselves being only bishoprics. The fragmentary walls which are still existing are of the mediaeval, Roman and even Gallic times, but the city has dwindled to a population of only 15,000. The cathedral of St. Stephen, however, is still considered by many as one of the grandest and most interesting in France, although its interior has been much injured by restorations, as so many other churches of this country have been.

Although it has been repeatedly stated that the reconstructions of this church were begun in 1124 and were far advanced towards completion in 1140 when the great Council convened here to

* See Note 37.

arraign Abelard, others believe that it was not begun till the later date above given. Nevertheless we have abundant authority for stating that whatever was the general condition of the church, in 1140, this Council actually did meet in its nave, and Bernard was Abelard's most conspicuous assailant.

Begun as a Romanesque church and several times restored, it is now largely Gothic in style. Some of the figures on the exterior of the cathedral,—the western facade*,—though much mutilated are very interesting as illustrating one of the methods of teaching in the twelfth century. One figure holding plants in his hand stands for the medical art, while rhetoric is represented by a person evidently talking. Theology has a sceptre as the queen of sciences, and so on through all the liberal arts of that day. These figures are separated by Byzantine pillars with floriated capitals. This cathedral has two of the largest bells in France. It is also rich in stained glass, some of which belongs to the twelfth century. The author of "Gothic Architecture of England and France" speaks of this cathedral as being far grander than Canterbury.

The second recorded visit of Bernard to this city was in 1147 when again he lifted up that wonderful voice of his in the interest of the Second Crusade.

When Thomas á Becket, archbishop of Canterbury, fled from the fury of Henry II in 1164 to

* See Note 38.

a monastery near Sens, he visited the Pope during the latter's stay in this city, and here we find in the cathedral among many other relics Becket's vestments. In the chasuble is a large hole, cut out only a few years ago, at the instigation of a woman of vandal propensities.

In the abbey church of the Magdalen at Vezelai, we have one of the largest and most beautiful basilicas in France and, we may add, one of the most interesting because it has retained its original style of architecture much better than most of the Romanesque buildings. Mr. Ferguson speaks of the nave which was finished as early as 1105 as possessing all the originality of the Norman combined with the elegance of the southern styles. Here the pillars are ornamented with capitals of astonishing variety which probably were sculptured during the first third of the twelfth century. The unusually large narthex or interior vestibule, with a nave and aisles, was begun immediately after the fire of 1120, and part of the facade is also of the early twelfth century.

Viollet-le-Duc restored this church in 1840 with some of the old material, and so judiciously that we have an accurate idea of the original plan.

This, then, gives us quite an understanding of the actual condition of the church when Bernard, Louis VII and Queen Eleanor all visited Vezelai for several days in 1146, and the two former were the leading speakers in the preaching of the Second Crusade. To be sure the crowds were so great that the preaching took place on the side

of a hill overlooking the town, yet some of the services must have been held in the church. *

Although Vezelai is now a mere village, having only 800 inhabitants, in the twelfth century it had a population of over 10,000. Previous to the eleventh century Vezelai was of small importance, but after the news was promulgated that Mary Magdalen's relics were deposited in the abbey church here, it suddenly became almost equal to Jerusalem or Rome to the Christian world. Pilgrims assembled here from all parts, and the preaching of the Second Crusade by Bernard also greatly increased its importance, which was at its height in his day. It was for a while even a rival of the great Abbey of Cluny.

It seems to be generally conceded that the most remarkable church built in the 12th century in France is St. Front of Perigueux. Originally erected in the first half of the 11th century, a great fire destroying it in 1125, it was immediately rebuilt in the form of a Greek cross with five domes, the most perfect example of Byzantine architecture to be found in France. Most unfortunately it was greatly injured fifty years ago by the architect Abadie, who attempted to restore it according to his idea of the Byzantine style. When Bernard visited the town in 1145 in his efforts to stamp out heresy in the various cities, this being one of them, the church was in its original grandeur and dignity, and the services in all probability took place here.

* See Note 39.

During Bernard's two recorded visits at Poitiers, that wonderfully interesting old town, it is supposed that he preached in Notre-Dame-la-Grande, for the present cathedral was not then in existence. In spite of its name this is not a large church, but decidedly the most characteristic of all the sanctuaries in this city, and fortunately has not been injured by restorations, for 'its appearance at the present day is as aged as its traditions.' It has the most elaborate facade of any Romanesque church in existence except the one in Apulia, southern Italy. Like so many of the twelfth century churches, the sculptured facade consists of stories from the Old and New Testament, combined with grotesque and symbolic figures.

Bernard's preaching of the Second Crusade extended as far south as the ancient city of Clermont-Ferrand, having one of the finest positions in France for scenic beauty, 'the great chain of hills almost encircling its own lower height, with the vast plain of La Limagne stretching far eastward, in the fall a perfect sea of harvest.' As Notre-Dame-du Port was then the cathedral, no doubt Bernard preached in that church, which is a typical building of the Auvergne style of architecture and the model for all the others of this region. Although much restored, the architects seem to have largely retained the original design, and, 'this Auvergne style was as distinct in character as its hills and valleys, and so accomplished that it is classed by the authorities among the perfect

NOTRE-DAME DU PORT

styles of Europe.' The sculptures of the interior, particularly the capitals of the columns, are of exceeding interest to all students of the development of art in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Although this church is much smaller than the cathedral of the present day and much more obscurely located, it is far more interesting architecturally and historically, for it was founded as early as 586, more than six hundred years before the former, and still shows a little of the original stone.

Cluny, about sixty miles south of Dijon, is certainly one of the richest towns in all France in historical buildings of the middle ages which are still extant, yet even in this small place they are fast disappearing. Of the magnificent abbey church, St. Peter's, there now remains only a part of the choir with its eight exquisite marble columns; a section of the south end of the nave; the south transept with its octagonal tower, and a smaller tower.

This church, not only the pride of all Burgundy, but of the Christian world was the largest ever built in France and always remained a Romanesque basilica. The statement has been made that for five hundred years it was recognized as the largest church in Christendom, but the "Cyclopedia of Religion and Ethics" states that four English churches of the early twelfth century exceeded it in size, yet it seems to be generally conceded that it was both in structure and ornamen-

tation of unparalleled magnificence, while the monastic buildings were gigantic.

The only historical buildings, besides the ruins of the church, now left on the Abbey grounds are the remains of a palace of the eleventh century; part of a cloister of the XIIIth century; a facade erected in the beginning of the XIVth century; the Abbot's palace, now converted into the Hotel de Ville and the Museum, dating from the 15th and 16th centuries; the chapel of Jean de Bourbon of the 15th century; a gate of the XVIIth century, and the palace of Pope Gelase II who died in 1119, which was entirely restored in 1872. The monumental gate of two arches through which one enters the Abbey grounds undoubtedly dates from the end of the eleventh century. M. Bruel gives pictures of many of these interesting buildings.

As late as 1890, there were in the town no less than twelve Romanesque houses belonging to the eleventh and twelfth centuries and four or five of the thirteenth, while those houses still extant of the XVIth and XVIIth centuries were built in a great measure from the ruins of previous years, thus retaining the old historical associations. The Romanesque basilica of St. Marcel, with its beautiful spired, octagonal tower, is largely of the twelfth century, and Notre Dame is a handsome Gothic church of the thirteenth century. On the borders of the river Grosne, which the old Abbey overlooked, are still to be seen the ancient "Tour

du Moulin;'' the bakery; the old flour-mill and the store-room of the monks.

The history of this Abbey is most interesting but only a few items can be here mentioned. Founded in 910 as a reform of the Benedictines, it became a separate order under the name of Cluniac. For nearly two centuries it was blessed with abbots of great eminence and during that time became so powerful that William the Conqueror begged the Abbot of Cluny to come over to England to govern its religious affairs. These abbots were often the most trusted counsellors of popes and kings, being the most important and powerful ecclesiastics in the Latin church, next to the Pope. Several sovereigns sought a refuge here in their last days and two eminent popes,—Urban II and Pascal II were educated in this institution. Very early in its history a clause was inserted in its charter, assuring its founder and his successors an absolute independence of every secular or ecclesiastical prince and even of the Pope,—the abbots however solemnly swearing to serve and defend the institution. In course of time it became so rich that one year 17,000 of the poor in its vicinity were relieved at its gate, to say nothing of the assistance it rendered the same year to numerous institutions of its own order. A vast accumulation also of art treasures enriched the Abbey, most of which were destroyed in the Revolution. The monastery was in its greatest prosperity during the abbacy of Hugh I. who died 1109, but one of his successors,—Ponce, led such an evil

life that he was deposed, excommunicated and even imprisoned. When Peter the Venerable was elected Abbot in 1122, he had much to struggle against, but was able to bring about some reforms. After his death in 1156 the Abbey rapidly declined in power. A man of great nobility of character, his name had been handed down in the chronicles of the Abbey as one of the most celebrated abbots of this Cluniac order. A prose writer, as well as hymnologist, he was counted one of the most learned men of his century. Two of his best hymns: "The Nativity" and "The Resurrection" have been translated into English. Dr. Duffield in his "Latin Hymn-Writers" translates the latter. He says that it is exultant rather than illustrious, but it is really the original of those splendid lines of Bishop Heber's:

"Now broken are the bars of Death
And crushed thy sting, Despair!"

Just in this connection we must mention another Cluniac hymnologist,—Bernard of Morlaix in Brittany, but generally called *Bernard of Cluny,* who was writing in this identical Abbey at this very time his famous and lengthy poem from which came "Jerusalem the Golden", "To Thee, O Dear, Dear Country" and "The World is Very Evil," all of which are today so often sung in our own churches and are favorite hymns in all denominations.

Of course, the first church of this order was of wood but in 1089 the magnificent basilica was

begun and consecrated in 1131, by Innocent II, Peter the Venerable having superintended some of its reconstructions. Queen Eleanor's grandfather,—William IX, Duke of Aquitaine, added a magnificent cloister with marble pillars. "I found an abbey of wood" he said, "and left it of marble."

Although the Revolution made most terrible havoc with the buildings and treasures of the Abbey, much of the beautiful church remained standing, but a few years later a street was cut for commercial purposes through the Abbey grounds straight into the remains of the grand basilica, dividing it into nearly equal parts. Soon after that the national government tore down all but what little is now left of the church, in order to build on its site a great stable for its prize horses, and here the stable remains today and is still in use!

In 1910 Cluny had a population of 4200.

CHAPTER X.

The War of Investitures—Matilda Countess of Tuscany

Probably the study of no single character gives a better idea of the state of affairs in Italy during the last third of the eleventh century and the first fifteen years of the twelfth, than Matilda of Tuscany. It was in her day that the War of Investitures began, that bitter struggle in which Pope and Emperor fought each for supremacy over the other. It was this very War of Investitures in which Hildebrand (Pope Gregory VII) and Henry IV of Germany were so closely involved, Matilda strenuously taking sides with the Pope, as she always did when the interests of the Church were at stake. Strictly speaking, this War of Investitures lasted only fifty years or thereabouts, from the beginning of Hildebrand's pontificate to 1122,—but it was in fact only another phase of the great struggle and jealousy between pope and emperor, or Church and State, which began as a small cloud as far back as Otto the Great 950 A.D. and continued for centuries. The Concordat of Worms in 1122 was on the whole 'a victory for the Church inasmuch as the Emperor had still to seek the crown from the hands of the Pope, and the pretensions of Otto the Great to make popes was gone forever.'

The term, investiture, as regards ecclesiastical affairs in the eleventh and twelfth centuries was the inducting of a bishop or church dignitary into office, using in the ceremony a ring and crozier (pastoral staff) as a symbol of the office. It had become the custom to transfer these symbols to the king or emperor upon the death of a prelate, thus enabling him to confer the office upon any person whom he should choose, with or without reference to the pope. This was 'really the delivery of the authority of the Church into the hands of the Civil power', and the introduction of the great evil of simony or bribing for office, the monarch often selling his bishoprics to the highest bidder, while the moment a bishopric became vacant a swarm of ambitious churchmen endeavored by offers of money to obtain it.

It was this encroachment upon ecclesiastical rights which really began in earnest the War of Investitures under the rule of Hildebrand. Not till the famous Concordat of Worms in 1122 was there any cessation of the struggle. Then both parties made concessions, the Emperor, Henry V, agreeing to surrender to the Church the right of investiture by ring and crozier, (by which he had been acknowledged the transmitter of spiritual power) also granting to the clergy the right of free election; while on the other hand, the Pope conceded to the Emperor the privilege of being present at the election of bishops and abbots, and of conferring the right of investiture *by the sceptre*, or in other words, the right of granting *tem-*

poral power to the clergy, that is, the bishops and higher clergy should receive their lands and secular authority from the Emperor.

Important as this Concordat of 1122 was in its decisions, bringing about peace for a while between the two great powers, the conflict between pope and emperor soon lifted again its hydra head, 'involving the fate of nations and causing Italy to become one vast battlefield for the rival parties of Guelph and Ghibelline', the former representing the pope and the latter the emperor, the struggle being known and carried on in Germany under the names of Welf and Waiblingen. And this warfare represented to a great extent the state of affairs in both Italy and Germany during at least the latter part of St. Bernard's public career. To be sure, 'the character of this conflict greatly changed in the course of years and involved all classes, nevertheless in some of its aspects, at least, it virtually remained the old struggle between pope and emperor or church and state.'

Although Matilda of Tuscany belongs more particularly to the eleventh century, having been born about 1046, as many stirring events of her life occurred, and some of her greatest philanthropies were carried out in the twelfth—she died 1115—we think it best to include her among the great women of this period, especially as the results of her bequeathing virtually the whole of her vast possessions to the Church caused endless

conflicts all through the twelfth century and are continually mentioned in its records.

Matilda was descended from a long line of renowned warriors and dukes, her father Boniface being one of the richest and most powerful lords of his day, who also encouraged the spread of learning. In fact the court which he and his wife held at Mantua has been compared to that of Florence under the Medici. Beatrice, Matilda's mother, was a woman of great piety, also a wise and efficient ruler over her principality which comprised nearly the whole of the northern part of Italy, constituting her the wealthiest princess of Italy and almost of Europe.

Under the tutelage of her mother, of Domnizo the wise family chaplain at Canossa, and other tutors, Matilda's education was carried on with great faithfulness and success, for she had an insatiable thirst for knowledge and studied even at the early age of ten with untiring vigor and earnestness. Having a remarkable memory she became proficient in and spoke fluently four languages, corresponding in Latin with the great men of her day, writing the letters herself without the aid of a clerk. Domnizo also states that she was particularly clever in her translations of the valuable and scarce manuscripts of her favorite Greek, Latin, French and German authors. This seems all the more remarkable when we consider that in the middle of the eleventh century the castle schools taught the boys little more than the

rough arts of war, and the girls in the nunneries as a general thing learned only a few Latin prayers and the art of executing rude tapestries. Many of the early German emperors could not even sign their names.

In the later years of Matilda's life she took up scientific pursuits as far as they were known in that day—and Political Economy, derived from a study of Plato and Aristotle. In course of time she became the owner of one of the finest libraries of her period. Anxious to have good laws for her subjects she studied jurisprudence, "Under the guidance of able tutors she threw herself with such zest into her work that she became no mean authority in the interpretation and application of Roman or civil law."

Trained when very young to love the chase, to wield both battle-axe and sword, learning to bear the pike as a foot soldier, and accustoming herself to wear in battle a steel armor, she was nevertheless gentle, lovable and winning in her manners, and full of sympathy for the poor and oppressed. Tall and slender, though strong and wiry, beautiful in face and figure, she attracted the attention of all and easily won the affection of her subjects. Although, like all men and women born to rule, she was often imperious, this fault had been so held in check by her judicious mother that she never displayed the propensity to her inferiors, but was always gracious and considerate of them. Many are the stories told

of her lavish generosity to the sick and distressed, of the great sums she expended on the building of monasteries, of hospitals and public baths, sometimes impoverishing herself thereby, enormously wealthy as she was territorially. At one time (1082) when Pope Hildebrand was in such straits, trying to stem the tide against his greatest foe, Henry IV, and Rome was besieged, Matilda had all her gold and silver treasures at Canossa melted down and sent to the Pope in order that he might pay his soldiers. Added to all this, she and her attendants made wonderful salves and extracted medicine from herbs that they collected and dried, carrying the drugs or cordials personally to the poor, 'for no disease was too repulsive for the application of Matilda's surgical skill, no hovel too mean for her gracious presence.'

Matilda's first struggle for her country's defence occurred when she was only fifteen years old. A contention arose regarding the election of the anti-pope Cadalous through the influence of the Empress of Germany. Cadalous was on his way to Rome and obliged to pass through Beatrice's dominions, which she was determined no papal usurper should do. Straightway Matilda begged her mother's permission to command the forces necessary to do this. Scarcely had Cadalous passed the frontier of Tuscany when Matilda's small band rushed forward shouting: "St. Peter and Matilda"! "St. Peter and Matilda"!

A fearful hand to hand struggle ensued, the young princess cheering her troops on to fresh acts of heroism. The battle was short, and the enemy fled in wild despair, leaving Matilda master of the field, but she made sure that the wounded of both sides were well cared for.

In 1076 Matilda's first husband, Godfrey the Hunchback, was assassinated, and three months later she lost her mother, a bitter blow to her and a great loss to Italy. Henceforth and at the early age of thirty—she was left comparatively alone in the world, that is, without a single near relative. Her father, Boniface, having lost his other two children, and realizing the necessity of early instructing Matilda in everything that would inure her to hardships, as sole heir to his great dominion, himself began even before she was eight years old the pleasant task of training his beloved daughter for her future responsible position but he died when she was only ten years of age. Surely no other woman either of the eleventh or twelfth century held such a unique position as Matilda's at the time of her mother's death, having under her control nearly the half of Italy with unlimited wealth, innumerable vassals at her command and not a single male relative to whom she must be under tutelage, as was the custom in her day. Trained as a warrior with no discipline imposed upon her except by the Church, she had indeed such liberty of action as was most extraordinary in her age.

In 1080 Henry IV again attempting to wreak

CHURCH OF THE MAGDALEN AT VEZELAI

his revenge upon Pope Hildebrand, Matilda immediately espoused the cause of the latter and after several defeats, due to her unprepared vassals, she made her last struggle at this time for liberty at her beloved castle of Canossa. "Scarcely had she with incredible rapidity, victualled and garrisoned her stronghold for the impending siege, than thither marched the avenging King." But Matilda at the very first was too much for him. Her adroitness, her shrewd maneuvers in conveying food and arms to the surrounding villages and castles, her methods of uniting her troops baffled the King beyond all endurance, but now pride came to his rescue. With indomitable pluck he set to work with renewed vigor to cut off all communication on Matilda's part with the villages, guarding all the approaches to the castle with sentinels. And yet Matilda would not despair but cheered on the fainting hearts of her beloved soldiers. Finally, almost at the moment when defeat seemed inevitable, her strategic skill carried the day and insured success.

One foggy morning when the camp of the enemy was hidden from view, and the castle was also enveloped in mist, Matilda hastily called together her troops and silently led them down the steep embankment close to the hostile camp, where the soldiers were still in profound slumber. Throwing themselves upon the startled Germans, who, in the dense fog could not see the fewness of their numbers, they wrecked the camp without losing a single man on their own side, and

Henry, supposing it to be a great army hastily beat a retreat. Thus for the second time Canossa was rescued from the clutches of a deadly foe by the brave generalship of the Great Countess. Henry, enraged by his defeat, hastened on to Rome expecting to crush the Pontiff as well as Matilda, whom he felt sure would speedily repair to that city in order to defend the Pope. But again his cousin outwitted him and by her marvellous celerity reached the city long enough in advance to warn the Pontiff and insure his safety.

All through the best years of her life Matilda was ever planning and working for the redemption of her beloved country from its foes. The dream of her life was a united Italy and for this she fought and prayed. Again and again she raised armies to meet the Church's need and even at the age of fifty-six she journeyed across the Apennines and quelled an insurrection in Ferrara about 1102. Even more remarkable was the energy and old-time power she manifested at the age of sixty-eight, having just arisen from a dangerous illness. Hearing of the fierce rebellion of the Mantuans who had gone so far as to destroy one of her castles, she deemed it necessary to take the sternest measures to put down the insurrection immediately, although Mantua, because of its old associations with her father and mother, was one of her best loved cities. But the citizens had so terrorized the peasants by setting fire to their crops, and rendering the roads and river

unsafe by their depredations and foul piracy, that there seemed no other course to take. Despatching messages all over her dominions for the raising of a great army, and commanding the vessels on the Po to make ready to do their part, she sent envoys also to the republic of Venice and other allies asking for their assistance. She then prepared to take command of the troops in person.

But when the Mantuans heard of the mighty preparations being made for their destruction, they sent a deputation to Matilda humbly beseeching her pardon, which she finally granted. This occurred in 1114, less than a year before her death.

Italy had never a nobler, truer patriot than this brave woman, an eleventh and twelfth century Joan of Arc, but of infinitely wider influence because of her high rank, her scholarly attainments and her comparatively long life. She certainly deserved to be called *"the wonder of Italy"*, for her fame resounded throughout the length and breadth of Europe.

Not only more or less closely associated with nearly all the popes of her day, but tradition relates that Matilda fought for Nicholas II and Alexander II before the walls of Rome, and great men took long journeys in order to have the honor of meeting her. Anselm, the famous archbishop of Canterbury was one of these, being entertained by her most graciously in 1103, and Henry V in 1111, on his way back to Germany from Rome after his coronation as Emperor, begged

the privilege of visiting his cousin, the famous Countess, and Matilda consented to entertain the son of her old enemy Henry IV. Although he showered honor and flattery upon her during the three days visit, when we remember the utter selfishness of the man and the cruel treatment he perpetrated upon his aged father, we are easily inclined to believe the historians' hint that in making this visit he had in view the possible inheritance of some of Matilda's possessions.

Matilda's last visit to Rome, that great city for which she had sacrificed so much, was in 1107 when she accompanied Pope Paschal II on his way from France. The remainder of her life was spent with her subjects—many of whom idolized her—working unremittingly for their welfare. She was so much beloved by the Florentines that they often named their children Contessa or Tessa, in grateful remembrance of their benefactress. The greater part of her last three years was spent at her favorite monastery San Benedetto founded by her grandfather and enriched by her father. This was about fifteen miles from Mantua. Many were the privileges she granted the monks, and eight months before her death she made them a magnificent donation of lands for their support. Here she was buried, but five hundred years after her death Pope Urban VIII, being ambitious to embellish St. Peter's and to honor some of Italy's noblest dead, had her remains removed to Rome and in 1644 the monument by Bernini was completed. Mrs. Huddy and Miss Duff both give

very satisfactory representations of this monument in St. Peter's in their "*Life of Matilda of Tuscany.*"

As Bernard of Clairvaux was about twenty-five years old when Matilda died, he must have known something about her great struggle for Italy and the Church, and have been greatly interested in her life-work, so closely connected as it was in general with his own. Her name, moreover, was constantly brought before him during his public career, because of the ever-recurring struggle between Pope and Emperor, regarding the possessions she left to the Church, the emperor claiming a right to them as Imperial fiefs, according to feudal law, Matilda having left no heir, although "the Great Countess had given her property to the Holy See in her lifetime, but she also seems to have recognized Henry V as her heir, and on her death he took possesion of her lands without opposition or protest from the Pope." Historians differ greatly as to which party really had the first claim to these possessions.

CHAPTER XI.

Queen Eleanor—Fontevrault and Sempringham—The Troubadours

One of the most interesting and conspicuous characters of the twelfth century was Eleanor (1122-1202) the daughter of William X (tenth) Duke of Aquitaine, already mentioned in chapter VII. When only fifteen years old her father died leaving her sole heiress of his vast possessions, thus constituting her one of the wealthiest duchesses in all France. She was very beautiful, intensely fond of admiration, had inherited from her father his passionate, high-strung nature, had been brought up under the influence of the gay and immoral troubadours, and was herself counted among the authors of her day, having composed poems, as well as music for these troubadours. Like so many of her ancestors she had decidedly intellectual tastes and was regarded as highly accomplished, the early chronicles specially mentioning that she could read and write! It is said that her poems were famous long after her death, and that she was specially skilled in music.

In 1137 at the age of fifteen she married Louis the Young, who one month later became King Louis VII.* This ceremony took place in the

* See Note 40.

cathedral of St. Andrea at Bordeaux * with a magnificence hitherto unknown, while the sumptuousness of the feast was unexampled. A chronicle of the times says it would have taken the eloquence of a Cicero and the proverbial memory of a Seneca to enumerate all its delights.† Suger was one of the most honored guests at this wedding.

It is said that Eleanor was not only largely responsible for the cruel death of the inhabitants of Vitry—who, taking refuge in the church, were burnt alive by order of the King—but for the defeat of Louis VII as leader of the French Army in the Second Crusade. When she accompanied him to the East with an army of women who foolishly followed their husbands, as well as many young women with their lovers, they all assumed the masculine costume of Amazons, practicing Amazonian feats of war at Vezelai and making themselves ridiculous and offensive in their indiscretions.

Bernard was at Vezelai at this time as principal preacher of this Crusade, and he was a witness of all these unwomanly performances of Eleanor and her companions. They insisted on carrying to the East with them an immense amount of baggage containing all their personal finery, and of retaining it in the camp at all risks. When the French army reached Laodicia, King Louis sent forward the women escorted by his choicest

* See Note 41.
† See Note 42.

troops, commanding them to occupy the arid heights above the valley. But Eleanor in one of her stubborn and poetical moods, insisted on halting in a romantic valley near by. The King, meanwhile, was fighting valiantly the Arab cavalry, but as he entered the valley and night came upon them, swarms of Arabs, who had taken possession of the heights which Louis' own troops should have occupied, attacked him and only by the most desperate valor on his own part did he escape with his life. Thousands of the king's most chivalrous men suffered death caused alone by the folly of their queen, and the entire French army was reduced to great distress.

All through this crusade Eleanor showed the very weakest and worst traits of her character, coquetting with her handsome, young uncle, and falling in love with other men. Upon their return to France, it was perfectly natural that Bernard, with his lofty ideas of life, should encourage a divorce, although Suger greatly opposed it, understanding perfectly the fatal effect it would have on the material prosperity of the country. The divorce took place in 1152, and only six weeks after Eleanor became the wife of Henry of Anjou, who two years later was crowned King of England as Henry II. Some authorities state that this marriage ceremony also was performed at Bordeaux.

We cannot follow Eleanor's long, checkered and tragic career as queen of England, but in spite of the many faults and grievous sins of her earlier

CATHEDRAL OF ST. ANDREA, BORDEAUX

life, in her advanced years she performed many acts of benevolence and righted many deeds of injustice. As duchess of Aquitaine and ruling that great section of France, even through part of her married life with Henry II, she was always beloved and respected by her subjects. When regent of England for her sons, she evinced much wisdom and great ability, and history declares that her adopted country revered her memory. Had her early training and associations been different she would undoubtedly have been one of Europe's greatest and wisest of women rulers.

"For fifteen years she was queen of France; for fifty she was queen of England; for eighty or thereabouts she was equivalent to queen over Guienne. No other French woman ever had such rule. Her decision was law whether in Bordeaux or Poitiers, in Paris or Palestine, in London or in Normandy, in the court of Louis VII or in that of Henry II or in her own Court of Love." The only English queen equal to her was Elizabeth.

A peculiar phase of monastic life was revived in France about the beginning of the 12th century —double monasteries for the two sexes. The origin of these institutions is somewhat obscure, but they had been very common in Ireland and were in vogue in England during the first eight or nine centuries of the Christian era.

One of the first monasteries of this kind in France was the famous Abbey of Fontevrault

near Saumur. Robert of Brittany, a noted preacher and ascetic, was its founder. He gathered together men and women of all conditions and grades of society, and as a Reform this establishment occupied a high standing and made great progress in the 12th century. It consisted of a nunnery for virgins and widows, a magdalenium, a hospital for lepers and other diseased persons, a convent and a church. The church was used both by the monks and the nuns, but no communication was permitted between the two sexes. The monks and nuns were housed in two separate buildings but contiguous to each other. The male residents were made up of the lay-brothers who attended to the carpentry and farm work of the establishment, and the canons or priests who officiated at mass and other religious services. The entire establishment was under the superintendence of an abbess, who was supreme not only over the nuns but also over the monks. Later in the history of this institution the nuns were almost entirely from the nobility and the abbessses were usually of the royal family of France—able women who managed and controlled the vast wealth which came to the Order in time, having absolute authority over the different houses and responsible to no one but the Pope, even in its ecclesiastical affairs, she herself drawing up the rules for the government of the Order. There was a long succession of able abbesses here, so that woman's capacity for the management of

* See Note 43.

both ecclesiastical and civil affairs was shown at Fontevrault for six hundred years.

Queen Eleanor was much interested in this Abbey and richly endowed it. Here she and her husband, Henry II, and their son Richard the Lion-hearted, were buried. Their effigies may still be seen in the ancient church which, in spite of mutilation and restorations, still remains a fine example of 12th century architecture.

Another order similar to this was that of St. Gilbert of Sempringham in Lincolnshire, founded about 1135, and at a time when there were no nunneries in the north of England, the great settlements of the Early English period having passed away. Unlike Fontevrault this order was at first purely for women, but the supreme authority was vested in the hands of men. Its founder, however, soon added canons to the settlement on account of the difficulties he encountered in the management of it. This order was organized at about the time that the famous abbeys of Rievaulx and Fontaines were established, and St. Gilbert so greatly desired that his convents should become affiliated with the Cistercians, that he took personally the long journey to Citeaux to consult with the chapter regarding the matter. But Bernard and other leading men of the council opposed the idea of presiding over a religious order for women and urged Gilbert to remain at the head of his communities, presenting him with an abbot's staff.

One can easily imagine, considering the looseness of morals of the 12th century, that such religious communities as these, with the close proximity of the two sexes, yet bound by such harsh restrictions as they were, would have peculiar temptations, and such really was the experience of St. Gilbert regarding some of the inmates of his convents. One case in particular is mentioned of a young girl who fell into dire disgrace through acquaintance with a lay-brother engaged in repairing the women's dwelling. Her fellow-nuns were so outraged that 'they treated her with barbarous cruelty and would have killed her had not the prioress intervened and had her chained and imprisoned.' They then attacked the young man who had disgraced their convent and caused him to be terribly mutilated. For sins such as this girl's, the laws of Gilbert's order decreed imprisonment for life, but the canon for a like trespass was simply expelled from the settlement. Notwithstanding this and other cases of disobedience to the rules of the order, distinguished men of Gilbert's day warmly praised his work for women and considered it truly remarkable.

The troubadours did not a little towards stimulating a revival of two of the liberal arts; poetry and music. This was the century in which their best work was done. William IX, duke of Aquitaine and the grandfather of Queen Eleanor, was the earliest of the troubadours. Rough, coarse, licentious, he was yet a mighty factor in

his day. A great warrior, athlete and wit, his wonderful versatility won for him innumerable friends in spite of his passionate nature, while his intellectual tastes brought him into prominence as a poet. Eleven of his lyrics are extant, some of them being too coarse to be translated, one, however, is given in English which portrays him in the best possible light. He died 1127 aged only fifty six. Of the three most distinguished among the earlier troubadours—Marcabru, Jaufre Rudel and Bernart de Ventadorn, all wrote during Bernard's day and it is quite possible that he had met them. Marcabru's famous "Prudent Shepherdess" is the oldest pastoral poem we possess. A man like Bernard would naturally have small sympathy for the peculiar life of most of the troubadours, yet there was much in common between him and Rudel, while the bitter experiences of Marcabru and his bold lashing of the vices of his day must have struck a sympathetic chord in the heart of the tender and lovable yet sternly puritanical abbot. It is said of Bernart de Ventadorn, who paid homage to queen Eleanor and wrote to her his finest songs: "He became a beacon light in the literary history of mankind." Petrarch has given him a place in one of his "Triumphs" and some consider him one of the greatest poets of all time.

Right here we must touch upon one of the most peculiar phases of the troubadour's life—the fact that almost without exception they chose a mar-

ried woman on whom they bestowed their chivalric homage and to whom they addressed their poems. In a nutshell the following is the explanation given of the whole matter. After the Roman occupation and through the barbarian invasions the Latin "uxor"—legitimate wife—vanished all over Roman Europe and the names *"femina"* and *"mulier"* came to be used suggesting something similar to concubinage. Men married simply because women could inherit and transmit wealth and because they wished legitimate children to succeed them. Thus matrimony became in a sense servitude and the woman was often looked upon as a mere chattel, for this bond was usually forced upon them by the ambition or interest of their parents or guardians. Naturally she rebelled at this semi-imprisonment, under the guard of a menial, while her husband "cantered freely about on quests of gallantry!" Thus in time society found it best to allow women a safety-valve and she was permitted to receive the homage and praise of knights and poets, with the understanding that nothing beyond the line of decorum should occur. Certainly in many cases this privilege led to illicit love, but there was really less immorality than a suspicious reader of the literature would imagine. Alfred Nutt, the eminent English critic, takes, however, a different and much more serious view of this subject. We can think of no two troubadours whose lives give us a better idea of the two sides of this question, the danger of illicit love as in the case of

Bernart de Ventadorn, and the almost purely chivalric and spiritual love of that noble character Jaufre Rudel whom the world has accepted as a symbol of 'spiritual love burning for a complete satisfaction.' Indeed this chivalric age, though beset with temptations, did much towards emancipating woman from real bondage, for 'it often elevated affection rather than passion into the place of honor, and encouraged devotion in the stronger sex, grace and propriety in the weaker.' Women were allowed to assist at the numerous tournaments and in distribution of the rewards. In the absence of their lords they governed the feudal chateau and defended it with courage. Thus society began to experience a certain refinement which had not been known since the Roman occupation.

Yet on the other side, 'the extravagance, vanity and coquetry of the women were loudly inveighed against by the religious satirists of that day. They covered themselves with gold and gems, painted their eyes, fasted and bled themselves in order to look pale and colored their hair to give it a yellow tinge,' while their tunic sleeves were so long that they were obliged to tie them up when moving about, and their costume for full-ball-dress was so tight that they could not sit down during the several tedious hours of dressing. And this extravagance and love of display permeated all grades of society. Pxyes, altar-tables, croziers, reliquaries and shrines were elegantly decorated with gold and gems and encrusted with enamel.

The illuminators vied with each other in their exquisite coloring and fine miniature work in the liturgical books while the covers were frequently adorned with rich metals and valuable stones. The higher ecclesiastics adorned themselves with beautiful brocaded silks bordered with ermine, the collars and girdles being embroidered in gold thread, and sometimes studded with jewels. It was this kind of extravagance which Bernard so strenuously anathematized and not the beautiful sculpturing and stained windows in the churches which inspired and vitalized true worship.

One would suppose that a people so passionately fond of luxury and display would at the same time have craved the common comforts of life, but these, on the contrary, they seem to have had no ideas of whatever. The every day style of living in the chateau or palace was very different from the display so much in evidence at festivals and other special occasions, when the side-board was laden with costly gold and silver plate and the table spread in the great gothic hall, while the guests gorged themselves almost as badly as the old Romans did at their feasts. The lord of the castle usually much preferred to dine in his kitchen, often using earthenware or pewter for his dishes. Individual knives or forks were not known, indeed everyone in France ate with his fingers until the 17th century! Altho' tablecloths began to be used in the twelfth century, table napkins were not in general use till the fifteenth, and it was customary to wipe the fingers

STATUE OF VERCINGETORIX AT ALISE STE. REINE

and mouth on the table-cloth during and after the repast, while two persons would use the same cup and plate. M. Rousselot does mention, however, that both napkins and handkerchiefs were used in this century in the nunneries.

There were no chairs in the dining hall even for festive occasions, only benches raised some distance from the floor, but canopied and carved for guests of rank. Lighting was decidedly primitive and picturesque. At a great feast the lord would place around the walls in his hall valets, each with a flaming torch, which must have caused exceeding discomfort on a warm night. Entertainers of lesser rank used cheap, tallow candles or vile smelling oil lamps. Although rugs and handsome tapestries were manufactured at Limoges as early as this century, the custom was much more general then and for centuries later to strew the floors with rushes and fragrant herbs, freshy cut boughs and flowers. At summer banquets the guests of both sexes often decked their hair with garlands.

The pestilences, which were continually occurring not only in the twelfth century but all through the middle ages and even later, were entirely due to the ignorance of the people and their indifference to sanitary laws. Even their finest city Paris was indescribably filthy and saturated with vile odors. There was no system of drainage, while pigs, dogs, ducks and rabbits swam around the pools and gutters of its principal streets. King Louis VI's beloved son, heir to

the throne, actually incurred death from a fall caused by an abbot's pig which was allowed on the street. Indeed abbots and priors were specially privileged to let their swine feed on the streets of Paris, and not the slightest effort was made to revoke this privilege till two centuries later and even then without effect. It was said that on the darkest night of the year, the traveller out of his course, might know by the scent whether he was within a league or two of Paris!

The early Christians shocked at the sensuality caused by the splendid thermae of the Romans, illogically concluded that bathing was a sin, from which arose the custom among the monks in most of the different orders, of limiting these personal acts of cleanliness to two baths a year: Christmas and Easter, this custom also becoming deeply rooted by cause of their utter indifference to bodily comfort. Even the fastidious and refined Abelard advised Heloise to limit her nuns ordinarily to these semi-annual ablutions, permitting, however, as many baths to the sick as necessary, but we are happy to state that, remembering her own secular training, she encouraged her "*religieuses*" in the more frequent use of water for that purpose, for the general community, those outside of the monasteries and nunneries still believed in the bath. It is also very comforting to learn that Bernard was far in advance of contemporary monks in this respect and stoutly adhered to a proper degree of personal cleanliness.

CHAPTER XII

Henry I and II of England—Striking Contrasts of the Age

Henry I, born at Selby, near York in the Abbey which his father William the Conqueror had built, was thirty-two years old when he became king of England in the very beginning of the 12th century. Unusual care had been bestowed upon his education: and he was really very learned for the times. It is almost certain that English formed part of his education from the very fact that his father at the age of forty-three made a great effort to learn the English language, though not with very much success. When only nineteen years old Henry showed his long-headed, Norman shrewdness in buying for a small sum from his oldest brother, Robert the Squanderer,* the valuable district of the Cotentin, the northwestern section of Normandy, comprising one third of the whole duchy. Although this Robert, Duke of Normandy was lawful heir to the throne of England after the death of William Rufus, he was in Palestine having joined the first Crusade, and Henry seizing the royal hoard at Winchester was elected king and crowned on Sunday, only three days after the death of Rufus. Robert soon returned from Palestine and attempted to

* See Note 63.

wrest the crown from him, but in the great battle at Tinchebrai in Normandy, fought September 28th, 1106, exactly forty years after the battle of Hastings, Henry gained the victory, imprisoned his brother for life and Normandy became his own possession, although as Duke he was vassal to King Louis. From this time there was constant warfare between Henry and the French King or the barons, for Louis VI had espoused the cause of Duke Robert and, after his imprisonment, that of his son William Clito, who died 1128. It was during this early part of Henry's reign that he perpetrated that horrible crime of tearing out the eyes of his innocent grandchildren and cutting off their noses. It seems that Juliana, one of King Henry's illegitimate daughters, tore out the eyes of a hostage and Henry in reprisal did the same to her daughters. One contemporary historian declares that Henry perpetrated this atrocity with his own hands, but we do not for a moment believe it. This mode of punishment was particularly common among the Normans. Indeed bodily mutilation was a common practice in the twelfth century, but since crime must be punished and there were few jails in that age and no penal colonies, such mutilations were not then considered so atrocious if the victims were really guilty of great offenses.

There are few contemporary records of the reign of Henry Ist of England, but we know that during his long kingship of thirty five years the country was not only enjoying peace but that

NOTRE-DAME-LA-GRANDE OF POITIER

'the vital process of union, the growing together in blood and laws and feeling of the two great races—English and Norman—which occupied the land, was going rapidly forward. The two great Norman rulers of the day, Henry of England and Roger of Sicily, each kept his island kingdom in peace and used his continental territory as a battle-ground.' Henry was not only one of the chief potentates of Europe in his day, but England was one of the chief states of Europe. "The Norman conquest had given to the island kingdom a kind of greatness which had never belonged to it before. England had been drawn into the general European world as an appendage to Normandy, but from the day of Tinchebrai we must count Normandy as an appendage to England, and look on England as holding her European position in her own right."—Freeman. And much of this was brought about by Henry Ist, in spite of the deplorable administration of his predecessor and brother, William Rufus.

Cold, crafty, grasping, sometimes cruel in wreaking revenge on individuals, burdening the people with heavy taxes, still maintaining William the Conqueror's unjust forest laws, the father of many illegitimate children by different mistresses, Henry I, nevertheless, did a great work for England and Normandy in bridling feudalism, in retaining order, in making and keeping peace. Regarded in his own day as the "Lion of Justice," he inspired in his people confidence and awe but no real affection. Yet, for the times,

'the result of his rule was better than that of many who are called benefactors.' A greater statesman than Louis VI, he also had the advantage over him of much larger material resources. He died December 1st, 1135.

Had Henry II been a moral man, had he bridled his passions, had he been less selfish, what a king he would have made, for a finer mind, more acute, more judicial few monarchs have ever possessed. In spite of his licentiousness, his duplicity, his selfishness, his frequent paroxysms of rage, he was a wise and useful king, a great financier and legislator, probably the ablest statesman of his century, and like his grandfather Henry Ist, so far seeing as to understand perfectly, notwithstanding his natural greed and parsimony, that it was for his own interest as much as his country's, to have it governed wisely and to see that all classes should have their proper rights. Not only the ruler of England, the over-lord of Scotland and Wales, the conqueror of Ireland and the possessor of half of France, but 'the Lombard cities were his allies, his friends held the passes of the Alps and Pyrenees, Henry the Lion, duke of Saxony, at one time greatest territorial lord in Europe, was his son-in-law; the princes of Champagne and Flanders were his cousins; Frederic Barbarossa was distantly related to him and his close ally; Alfonso IX, king of Castile was also his son-in-law and ever eager in seeking his counsel. With all the Spanish kingdoms in turn he had relations, as with the distant lands of Scandi-

navia, with Sicily, whose king, William the Second, was his son-in-law, with Jerusalem—which had offered him its crown—and the nearer powers of Flanders and Burgundy.' A man of indomitable energy and industry with all the cares and burdens of the government of his vast dominions on his shoulders, he yet found time to interest himself in art and literature, and his court was graced with the presence of the most famous literati of the day.

And yet the last years of his life went out in darkness and anguish of his own making. His wife, queen Eleanor, goaded and enraged by his continued and ever increasing infidelities, rose in rebellion against him with her sons; a new and mighty power, Philip Augustus, France's greatest monarch since Charlemagne, but unscrupulous and an unmitigated schemer, wrenched from him many of his continental possessions and at the early age of fifty-six, learning that his best loved son, John, was in a plot against him, he died of a broken heart at Chinon, July 1189, cursing his rebellious children with his last breath. Altho' in his continental policy he showed caution and sagacity, but achieved no definite results, his work for England was unquestionably successful and permanent. Peace and order quickly followed the anarchy and incompetence of Stephen's reign, new and better laws were enacted, the old ones were greatly improved, the illegal castles were dismantled or destroyed and the barons held in check. Bishop Stubbs says of

him: 'He was the link in the chain of great men by whom through good and evil the English nation was drawn on to constitutional government. He was the man the time required and he stands with Alfred, Canute, William the Conqueror, and Edward 1st, one of the conscious creators of English greatness.'

The story of Fair Rosamond, the favorite mistress of Henry II, has been revived very recently. The Godston Nunnery of this beautiful but unworthy scion of a noble family—The Cliffords—has been offered to Oxford University on condition that the ruins be preserved. Thus one more memorial of the 12th century life is saved to give posterity another reminder of the dark side of that age.

Verily this twelfth century was a most wonderful period in the world's history—in its exuberance and youthful vigor as it caught and grasped new ideas or old ones in new form; its original handling of sculpture, however crude in our eyes; its thirst for knowledge; its childish fondness for luxury and display; its reaching out, as seen in its chivalry, for a purer, gentler life; its responsiveness to the teachings of men of power like Bernard, and its own eager beckonings after a deeper religious experience—all seems like the glow of youth awaking to a sense of its physical strength as well as mental and spiritual possibilities. And this is what makes it the most interesting period of all the middle ages.

It was, moreover, an age of most startling con-

trasts, producing such a character as Bernard, incontestably grand in its purity, its self-abnegation, its benevolence and humility—in sharpest contrast to the brutishness of Richard the Lion-Hearted, who once greatly desiring some pork but none being found, a young Saracen was killed, cooked and salted and given to the king to eat. When told, upon inquiry, what it was, he took the whole matter as a great joke and laughingly said that the army had nothing to fear from famine, having provisions ready at hand.*

An age so responsive to religious influences that its monasteries were constantly being filled with men and women of all classes, even including princely lords and chatelaines and not a few kings, yet so coarsely cruel that a countess could successfully demand of her troubadour lover who had grown cold in his attentions, that he should extract from his own hand a finger-nail and present it to her as a token of his repentance, and all this without exciting the least repugnance for the act on the part of her friends.

An age which could produce a John of Salisbury, a Walter Map,† a Marie de France, a Chretien de Troyes, a Giraldus Cambrensis, every one decidedly scholarly, and yet find many a noble proudly pacing his richly tapestried halls but unable to write his name, while many a lord of princely wealth looked down from his stately castle on serfs grovelling in poverty close to his embattled walls.

* See Note 44.
† See Note 49.

An age which gave to the world a genius like Wolfram von Eschenbach and the abbess Hildegarde, both high born, both producing works which are famous to-day, yet obliged to dictate these works because they could not write.*

An age which bedecked its archbishops in resplendent apparel studded with costly gems, yet found the dead body of Thomas à Becket—and many another dirty saint—reeking with vermin under his hair shirt.

An age which allowed woman a hand in civic and ecclesiastical affairs, yet permitted wife-beating by written law!

An age which gave birth to or developed great metaphysicians like Gilbert de la Porée and Abelard, yet could descend to such puerilities among its so-called literati as to wage a war of words on such questions as: "Why man has no horns on his forehead," "What is the reason for putting the nose above the mouth in the human countenance."

An age which could produce men of such eminent piety as St. Bernard, Peter the Venerable, Eugenius III and many others, and yet an age in which deeds so barbarous and dastardly as the assassination of Thomas à Becket, †—one of the most distinguished men of all Europe in his day, —could be perpetrated with impunity by prominent nobles, who not only hacked his body through and through, but with savage glee scattered his

* See Note 45.
† See Note 46.

brains over the pavement of the church in which he was murdered. And often such deeds were perpetrated in the name of religion and by men closely affiliated with the Church. As also showing this to have been by no means an exceptional case, we have only to mention the shocking murder of William of Carbestaing, one of the famous troubadours of southern France, who fell in love with the wife of Count Raimond. In revenge the count not only murdered William but caused his heart to be cooked and then gave it to his wife to eat. After she had fully enjoyed the repast her husband told her what it was, then flew at her with his drawn sword, but she flung herself over the balcony and perished on the spot.

CHAPTER XIII

Education—Text-books—Moslems of Spain —Logic

Although education in the first half of the twelfth century certainly did receive in France a remarkable impetus under the influence and through the long reigns of the two scholarly kings, Louis VI and Louis VII, and such men as Bernard, Suger, and Peter the Venerable, each at the head of one of the most influential monasteries of that age, and there were many others like Abelard equally learned, yet, judged from the standpoint of the present day, much of the learning then in vogue was of course crude and circumscribed. Moreover the extraordinary taste for dialectics, especially in the latter part of the century, caused literature and the classics to be largely replaced in the higher schools by logic.

The trivium and the quadrivium were the two courses of study, including in the first: grammar, dialectics or logic, and rhetoric; in the second, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music; in other words the seven liberal arts, but some of these were surely in their infancy as compared with their advancement at the present day.*

As to Rhetoric, although in the earlier centuries of the middle ages there were only two of the

* See Note 47.

practical forms of this study which were diligently pursued — letter-writing and the preparation of all kinds of documents, including wills and records—when, in the latter part of the 12th century Aristotle's total works became known to western Europe—rhetoric took on a new and wonderfully broadened significance, for Britannica says that 'hardly anything of importance has been added at the present day to what Aristotle wrote' on this subject.

The term Grammar* implied very much more in the middle ages than it does at present. It included not only the literature of Latin—poetry and prose—but the language, for it was not the mother-tongue of western Europe. This study of the language involved an immense amount of work for the teacher, on account of the great scarcity of text books, the scholars often having none at all. The little readers which the teachers generally compiled themselves are 'real monuments of pedagogical skill' including fables, folk-lore, Biblical and national proverbs, and facts of every day interest. Many of these readers have been preserved to the present day. It is now thought that the classics were much more thoroughly taught in the midde ages than has heretofore been supposed, and as proof of this there are in existence today 1000 manuscripts and nearly 300 printed editions of that remarkable "Priscian's Grammar" which had undisputed sway in most of the schools of western Europe for over three

* See Note 48.

centuries, and was even used in the universities. The writer of this Grammar quotes 250 different classical authors, among them Aristophanes, Aristotle, Demosthenes, Homer, Herodotus, Caesar, Virgil, Horace, Cato and Sallust.

As to the study of arithmetic, up to at least the eleventh century "No records of actual reckoning beyond three figures have been discovered,"* outside of Spain. The cumbersome Roman letters, I. V. X. C. D. M. were in use, the Arabic figures 1, 2, 3, etc., and the zero not having been generally introduced into western Europe till the twelfth century. Indeed, up to the latter date, arithmetic† and geometry‡ were principally used for calculating Easter and the other festival days of the Church. Euclid's complete work on Geometry was not translated into Latin till 1130, and not in use in the higher schools of Western Europe, except Spain, till the end of that century.

The twelfth century made great progress in Astronomy, yet the brilliancy of the Aurora Borealis only a few years before this period caused the greatest consternation and fear throughout France, and a great mortality in Anjou which followed, was ascribed to that event. Other astronomical phenomena later on presaged to them pestilence and war. Even the learned Gilbert of Nogent wished to have prayers offered in the churches at the appearance of the Northern Lights, because he thought they predicted some

* See Note 50.
† See Note 51.
‡ See Note 52.

dire calamity. During the twelfth century several predictions were made by the astrologers of France that the world was soon coming to an end. Yet as one evidence of great progress, we should mention that one of the incomplete Latin translations from the arabic, of the Ptolemaic system of Astronomy, the "Almagest"—which was the standard work until the time of Copernicus, sixteenth century—was made in Italy as early as 1116 and is supposed to have been accessible to the most renowned schools of France by the middle of the 12th century.

Of other text-books used in the 12th and preceeding centuries the best were: Cassiodorus's treatise on the trivium and quadrivium which was very popular; Boethius's "Consolation of Philosophy" used as a Reader in the schools; the Venerable Bede's Encyclopedia which he made for the special use of his pupils; Alcuin's "De Dialecta"; the "Logic" of Rabanus Maurus; Hermanus Contractus's books on the Abacus and the works on Geometry and Arithmetic by Gerbert, who was the pupil of Alcuin. All of these text-books were largely compilations, showing scarcely any originality; the authors having no familiarity with Aristotle, Euclid or Ptolemy, their works were of course very inadequate. In the latter part of the 12th century when these three great sources of ancient and mediaeval scientific knowledge became generally known, and the Arabic notation was introduced, these old text-books were largely superseded by much more

advanced scholarship, altho' the text-books of Boethian arithmetic were printed as late as the 16th century and the old Abacal system continued in use long after the introduction of the Arabic notation.

Special mention should be made here of Gerbert, a Frenchman, (Pope Sylvestus II, 999-1003) not only because of the great influence of his writings in the 12th century, but for the reason that there are vast numbers of his manuscripts still in existence (Abelson). He was considered the most accomplished scholar of his day (born about 950) having received most of his education in Spain, and teaching with great success for ten years the Quadrivium in the well-known school of Rheims which shows that there were still a few centers of learning in that dark and stormy tenth century. He was not only advanced, for that age, in music, but is thought to have himself constructed a remarkable organ worked by steam, which he used in teaching this science. He also constructed for the use of his pupils celestial and terrestrial globes, thus proving that he believed our planet to be round, while Rome was declaring it to be flat.

The preceding remarks on the trivium and quadrivium have no reference whatever to the progress of learning among the Moslems of Spain, but no estimate of the dissemination of knowledge in Europe during the 12th century can be properly given without recognizing the great intellectual work of the Arab-Moors of the Peninsula.

While the greater part of Europe during the tenth century was steeped in ignorance* and suffering so acutely from the invasion of savage hordes, from violence and oppression and grinding poverty among the lower classes that it has been called the Iron Age, Moslem Spain on the contrary was at the height of its political power and passing through its golden age in culture. Ptolemy's "Almagest", Euclid and Aristotle had been translated from Syrian versions into Arabic and rapidly found their way into the Moslem schools of Spain.

Before the end of the tenth century Ben Musa's Algebra was in common use among the Spanish mathematicians and also used in astronomical works. Moreover the same noted Algebraist was the inventor of the common method of solving quadratic equations. In the application of mathematics to astronomy and physics the Moslems had long been distinguished (Draper), while as early as the 9th century the Saracen Thebit Ibn Korrah first applied Algebra to Geometry and thus laid the foundations of analytical geometry (Coppée).

But the Arab-Moors of Spain made the greatest progress in medicine and astronomy.† In the 11th century Alhazen the noted Moslem astronomer who spent part of his life in Spain made the great discovery of atmospheric refraction by which he was able to explain many optical and astronomical problems, one of which was

* See Note 53.
† See Note 54.

the nature of twilight which we at the present time accept as true (Coppée). It was at this time that the famous universities of Cordova, Seville, Granada and Toledo were in all their glory, teaching geometry, trigonometry, physics, astronomy, medicine, surgery, logic, metaphysics and law. But besides these high grade institutions of learning no less than twenty-seven free schools were founded as early as the tenth century in Cordova for poor children, being admitted at the age of five. These elementary Moslem schools for both boys and girls sprang up somewhat later in practically all the cities and towns which came under the Moors' influence. They taught the Koran, reading, writing, grammar, versification, arithmetic and geography—the latter with globes.

Having the so-called Arabic notation* tho' supposedly of Hindu origin, and being familiar through translations with the works of the greatest mathematicians of ancient times, Euclid, Archimedes and Appolonius, the Eastern Saracens, and the Arab-Moors of Spain led the world for many years in mathematics, analytical mechanics and astronomy (Coppée).

The skill of the Eastern Arabs in hydraulics was attested in the tenth century when they introduced into Spain a marvellous system of irrigation which survives there today.

As an illustration of the rapidity of progress in civilization on the part of the Arab-Moors, a rude and ignorant people in the beginning of the

* See Note 55.

eighth century, we have simply to mention that only 250 years after their entrance into the Peninsula, Cordova their capital had a population of 1,000,000, was the largest and most splendid city in the world, had thoroughly paved and lighted streets, while London 700 years later had not a single street lamp and Paris was called Lutetia (the Muddy).

Cordova's palaces and mosques at this time were unrivalled in magnificence, while the number of the latter was said by the chroniclers to be as great as 1000, but this is probably an exaggeration. The most famous one is still in almost a perfect state of preservation and is now used as a Catholic cathedral. The fact that only two years after the first entrance of the Mohammedans into Spain (711 A.D.) they had secured a firm footing there, and that only forty-five years later they had established an Empire, 'which in the 10th century was greater in dignity and influence than any which existed in Europe,' and that 'it took 800 years and 5000 battles to drive them out of the peninsula' is a most remarkable record. Yet, the intellectual development and religion of a people, far more than mere valor in war or wisdom in administration, are infinitely more important as an estimate of real worth and character. The Moslems of Spain reached the high water mark of cultural progress in the 12th century and what was it? While they were indefatigable in collecting and translating manuscripts as well as in taking astronomical observations and in compu-

tations, thus accomplishing much in astronomy, they certainly did lack originality and consequently made few remarkable discoveries.

They produced fine dictionaries similar to ours, one of them comprising sixty volumes. They also had lexicons of Greek, Latin and Hebrew, as well as encyclopedias. But they have never written any distinguished historical work, athough genealogists, anthologists and chroniclers of puerile affairs were numerous. Their poetry is faultless in rhythm, accent and purity of diction, but their themes are usually sensuous, and they have never given to the world a single epic or dramatic poem. Two of their distinguished monarchs of the tenth century are particularly spoken of as gifted poets, and historians say that the harem of this period contained three or four celebrated poetesses, and that some of the most beautiful specimens of Moslem poetry were then produced. Lacking in imagination, in its highest sense, they have, moreover, never given us any such romances or tales as the Celtic, Indian and Persian races have, for the "Arabian Nights," fascinating as they are, indicate in many parts an Hindu or Persian origin.

Albucasis (925-1009) a remarkable Moslem surgeon in obstetrical art was born in Spain. His treatise on surgery is the best that has come down from antiquity and has been published in English, French and German.

Ibn Hazen, living in the early eleventh century, and prime minister to one of the caliphs, was a poet and regarded as the most prolific writer

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whom Spain has produced, as well as the greatest scholar of his time.

Although *Avicenna* (980-1037) the famous philosopher and physican was born and lived in Persia, no doubt his works were well-known and used in Spain in the 12th century for his treatise on medicine was translated into Latin and regarded for five centuries as distinguished authority in the schools of Europe.

Another Moslem heretic and theologian of the 12th century was *Avempace,* born in Spain, died 1138. He was one of the most distinguished Arabian philosophers, also a poet and musician. His principal work "Conduct of the Solitary" is known at the present day.

Averrhoes (1126-1198), the most famous of the Arabian philosophers, was born and educated in Spain. He wrote on theology, law, astronomy, grammar, arithmetic and medicine, as well as philosophy. He translated and illustrated Aristotle's writings with great penetration and made an abridgment of the "Almagest" as well as a work suggested by that great production. He was regarded by the Moslems as an heretic and some of his philosophy was accepted by the Christian Church. His works were studied in the University of Paris and have been translated into Latin and German. A really great man.

The Moslems of Spain also had able writers on Zoology and Botany, but the above mentioned, besides those already alluded to, are the principal Mohammedan scientific writers who were born

or lived in Spain (with one exception) whose works were used in the 12th century.

It seems strange that for many centuries so little of this Arabic culture should have sifted into other countries of western Europe, but the bigotry and jealousy of the Mohammedans with regard to the Christians, especially outside of Spain, and the well-founded opposition of the latter to the fatalistic religion and offensive polygamy of the Moslems prevented any intercourse between them. This bigotry on the part of the Moors was so great that when the priest Adelhart of Bath went to Spain in 1120 for study and brought back an Arabic copy of Euclid which he later translated into Latin, he was obliged to disguise himself as a Mohammedan student. We do read, however, of the Christians flocking into Spain at a later date as students.

We have endeavored to do full justice as far as possible in this brief space to the intellectual achievements and administrative ability of the Moslems of Spain, but who can deny that their religion and polygamy were sadly against them and consequently their influence was on the whole pernicious.

The most famous schools of France in this century were Rheims, Chartres, Laon, Bec, Paris,* Limoges, Montpellier and Orleans and most, if not all of these, were in the cathedrals, indeed one may say that nearly all schools of the twelfth century were either in the monasteries or cathe-

* See Note 56.

drals, for until the fourteenth century there were no separate school buildings. During the beginning of the university period—latter part of the twelfth century—students were sometimes taught in private rooms, and the churches were used for large assemblies. One writer states that Abelard lectured at Genevieve, near Paris, in the open air, and his pupils sat on the ground.

Books continued to be very scarce and much of the time was spent by scholars and monks simply in copying and illuminating these books and manuscripts. "Comparatively few lords and by no means all of the troubadours were able to write." Few of the lower classes could either read or write unless some wealthy lord became interested in their education, as in the case of Bernard de Ventadorn, the famous troubadour. Even girls and women of the nobility were often destitute of this accomplishment unless they entered a nunnery. Indeed M. Rousselot in his "*Education of Women in France*" says that there were many opponents in the twelfth century to the education of women, and he quotes one prominent writer as saying in the strongest terms that no woman should be able to read or write!

Abelard and Peter the Venerable mourned the scarcity of lettered women and the general ignorance of the sex. The very fact that the distinguished abbess Hildegarde, though of noble birth hardly knew her alphabet and the eminent author of "*Parzival*", Wolfram von Eschenbach, also supposed to be of noble birth,

could not read or write in his own language, shows that the diffusion of knowledge was by no means widespread. Gilbert of Nogent, the nobleman and ecclesiastic who was writing early in the twelfth century, vividly describes the difficulty he experienced in his efforts to obtain sufficient education to prepare himself for the priesthood, and the ignorance as well as brutality of his teacher, who showered cuffs and blows upon him till his arms were black and blue, while the skin of his shoulders was raised like a blister and terribly swollen. Yet when his mother urged him to give up his education under such treatment he exclaimed: "I would rather die than cease learning letters and wishing to be a priest." Testimony of this kind regarding the ignorance and brutality of teachers even in the twelfth century is not uncommon. As to the matter of flogging, the whip was in fashion as late as the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries and the only difference was that the whips of the fifteenth were twice as long as those of the fourteenth. "What better could be looked for in the lower schools when the University of Paris resorted to the rod in those centuries even with its bachelors." It is said that Luther was once flogged fifteen times because he could not repeat declensions which he had never been taught. In his day when one boy was being scourged the others had to stand around and sing a hymn! All through the twelfth century the discipline in the schools was exceedingly severe. The slightest faults were punished

with the rod. In many monasteries all the boys were periodically flogged as a kind of general atonement for sins past and possible.

In Cambridge, England, at so late a period as the first decades of the twelfth century, the work of the schools there, which later became the famous University, was composed of the elements of Priscian and Donatus and the reading of some portion of Terence, Boethius and Orosius; and this meagre diet was the usual curriculum of schools up to the rise of Universities. England, however, in the early part of the twelfth century was far behind France intellectually, but in the latter part, during Henry II's reign, 'such a galaxy of writers sprung up both in England and France as had not been known since the Golden age of Athenian and Roman culture.' *Bernard of Chartres* (died 1167) was conducting most successfully in that renowned city during the second quarter of the century, a school which became under his instruction preeminent in its classical curriculum. He himself wrote a commentary on a part of the Aeneid, of which some specimens have been printed. His school, however, is generally considered to have been exceptionally advanced. His two most distinguished pupils were Gilbert de la Porée* and John of Salisbury,† the latter being one of the most popular writers of the twelfth century, his works appealing to some readers even of the present day, being remarkable for their cultured, literary style. It is said 'that

* See Note 57.
† See Note 58.

for thirty years John of Salisbury (d. 1180) was the central figure of English learning and that he was the best representative of the fullest scholarly training which France had to give.' "No writer can be placed beside him in the extent and depth of classical reading." France at this time was unquestionably the intellectual center of Europe, and it is stated that there is hardly any period in the history of the schools of France when so many famous masters were teaching at the same time, and certainly no period even in the later middle ages in which their teaching extended over so varied a field as in the middle of the twelfth century. 'From the days of Abelard (d. 1142) Paris was as decidedly the center of European thought and culture as Athens in the days of Pericles, or Florence in the days of Lorenzo de Medici.' Indeed a greater part of the literature of the 12th century was not only written in French but many English authors wrote in that language.

Even little far-away Iceland responded to this 12th century revival of learning, and begun for the first time to put her ancient oral Sagas into written form, but this great work was not finished till the beginning of the fifteenth century. These Sagas were written in prose and were historical, mythical and romantic with most impressive ghost stories. This Scandinavian literature is of untold value to students of folk-lore.

In the latter part of the twelfth century a remarkable impulse was given to the study of logic

by the circulation in Latin of the four most important treatises of Aristotle's Organon: *"The Topics," "Prior Analytics," "Posterior Analytics"* and *"Sophistical Refutations."* Previous to this only his elementary works on Logic were known to students although Professor Abelson explicitly states that Boetius had translated the entire Organon, but the advanced portions—the four treatises above mentioned—were so beyond the comprehension of his contemporaries that they became lost to Europe for many centuries.

After the introduction of these treatises into the schools, students of course made remarkable progress in logic. Gilbert de la Porée, however, is the first writer (d. 1154) who can with certainty be shown to have made use of these four treatises of the Organon, but by the time of his pupil, John of Salisbury, they, under the name of the *"New Logic,"* took the foremost place among the acknowledged text books of the schools.

CHAPTER XIV

Status of Woman—Literature in General—Great Romances and Epics.

We have already spoken of the meagre opportunities of women for a good education, particularly in the early part of the twelfth century, yet we know from the fact that Heloise, Queen Eleanor and the two Matildas of England — the wives of Kings Henry I and Stephen—were so well trained mentally, that scattered all over western Europe were nunneries and private teachers like Abelard, by which opportunities a woman of pluck, mental capacity and large means at her command, or influential relatives, could secure a good education for the times. One of the most notable examples of this was Marie de France, who was probably writing her Lays as early as 1160. Another prominent writer was Herrad, Abbess of Hohenburg in Alsace. Her *"Garden of Delights"* was an illustrated encyclopedia giving a history of the world from the Creation, with a wealth of information on the customs, manners and point of view of the twelfth century. Most unfortunately, the original manuscript, and a complete copy of the text were destroyed in the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. There are still existing, however, or were before the late war, de-

scriptions of it by those who had studied the work, and portions which had been copied before its destruction. The Society for the Preservation of the Monuments of Alsace has also collected and published a reproduction of all the existing copies of the pictures or parts of them. Although of course fragmentary, they are of the greatest interest and importance, for they give a better insight than any other production of the talents, the enthusiasm and the industry which were found at this period in some of the nunneries.

While Heloise seems to be generally considered the most learned woman of the twelfth century, perhaps we may rank Herrad as having the greatest imaginative power and the widest range of intellectual ability of any woman of her own period. Her *"Garden of Delights"* was executed between 1160 and 1170. Miss Eckenstein in her *"Woman under Monasticism"* gives a most interesting and lengthy account of Herrad and her Abbey of Hohenburg.

Three very scholarly Saracen women of Spain are particularly mentioned as living in the twelfth century: Algasaria of Hispali who was a great orator and poet; Thorna of Valentia, greatly skilled in literature and law; Maria of Grenada, famous in learning and music, and it is said that as early as the tenth century there were eminent women surgeons on the Peninsula. There were also at this period very learned women in the noted medical school at Salerno near Naples, Italy. All through its palmiest days—the eleventh

and twelfth centuries—these women not only taught medicine and wrote treatises on the subject, but were successful practitioners.

Of course the number of really scholarly women in this century, even including France, England, Spain, Germany and Italy, was comparatively small, but there were many who showed great mental capacity and administrative ability, for there were numerous abbesses who not only had full control of their own convents, but were in close relations with the court and imperial politics, and in some instances struck their own coins. Sometimes they were immensely wealthy, as in the case of the Abbess of Shrewsbury who lived in the time of Henry Ist. They were treated as equals by the men of their class, as is witnessed by letters we still have from popes and emperors to abbesses.

Hildegarde, abbess of a monastery near Bingen on the Rhine, was a woman of very great influence and of rare piety. Although so unlettered that she was obliged to dictate all her works, taking ten years to compose her first book, she had great natural talents and was a woman of conspicuous moral courage. She never hesitated to inveigh against the vices of even kings and emperors. Her letters to Bernard are among the very few in which she utters no word of reproach. On the contrary those to him are written in a spirit of the deepest humility and veneration. She was not only consulted by the greatest men of her time, but was a very practical and efficient abbess.

Emil Reich in his *"Women through the Ages"* says that her descriptions of the Divine Light are of intense beauty, and that the volume compiled at her instigation on natural products in health and disease, is a notable effort in mediaeval medicine. She died in 1198 at a great age.

The two Matildas of England: good Queen Maud and her niece, the wife of King Stephen, were both women of great executive ability. The former was called in her day the "Holy Queen." They both acted as regents for their husbands during their many absences, and ruled the kingdom with great wisdom. When Stephen was imprisoned, his wife, Matilda of Boulogne, went in person more than once, and besieged the insurgents, and through much diplomacy she finally succeeded in liberating him.

A most interesting story is related about the Duchess of Bavaria whose husband was at war with Conrad III, who was so closely associated with Bernard in the Second Crusade. The Duke's army was defeated and taken prisoners, but Conrad treated them with great clemency and even gave them permission to return home unharmed. The Duchess, however, feared some strategem behind all this kindness, and going to the Emperor begged him in person to allow her and all her attendants to take with them all they could carry. When the women filed out of the castle each was found carrying her own husband on her shoulders! This keenness and devotion on the part of the Duchess so pleased the Emperor that he ordered

a splendid dinner for the whole army and the wives, and ended the war immediately.

There were also women among the nobility of France at this period who either took a high position in public affairs or dispensed their wealth among the poor and ignorant, founding many monasteries or hospitals. Adelaide of Champagne,* daughter of Count Theobald, the intimate friend of Bernard, became the third wife of Louis VII and during his old age, as well as after his death, acted as regent. Her father belonging to one of the most powerful houses of the kingdom and, immensely wealthy, gave her careful education in his own castle, for he was also a man of culture and gathered around him the literati of the times. Adelaide personally superintended the education of her son, Philip Augustus, who became one of France's greatest kings. When he went to Palestine on one of the Crusades his mother again had much influence in civic affairs. Her letters to the Pope during a certain ecclesiastical disturbance were full of force, evincing great nobility of character and so eloquent that she readily gained her point.

Ermengarde, Duchess of Brittany, during the six years absence of her husband in the First Crusade, not only took his place in the care of the duchy, but personally collected money for the crusaders. After his death she spent nine years in Palestine giving largely of her patrimony to the poor, restoring churches and founding an ab-

* See Note 59.

SOUTHERN PORTAL OF TRANSEPT,
CHARTRES CATHEDRAL

ey there. After her return to Brittany, meeting t. Bernard at her son's castle, she gave him a arge estate on the Loire where he erected a mon-stery, equipping it with his own Cistercian nonks.

All these examples go to show that the renais-ance of the twelfth century not only affected all rades of society, but went far towards lifting oman to her normal position in the various ac-ivities of life.

So much has been written about the literature f the twelfth century and particularly the Arth-rian cult, that we will simply mention a very few f the most popular works of western Europe, ome of which carried great influence through suc-eeding ages. "Possibly no work before the age f printed books attained such immediate and as-onishing prosperity as Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain,*" a chronicle hich had all the charm and novelty of a romance f adventure but no proper claim as history. One f Geoffrey's contemporaries states that the book as so universally talked about that to confess gnorance of its stories was the mark of a clown. Two hundred years after his death, Chaucer gave Geoffrey a high place; Spencer, Drayton and Wordsworth sang his praises, while the two su-preme poets of England—Milton and Shakes-peare — pay tribute to his genius." Prof. Lewis Jones of North Wales declares Geoffrey's *"His-tory"* to be the most significant literary product f the twelfth century, and Britannica says that

his work not only became familiar to the continental nations, appearing in Greek, but became known to the Arabs. 'With the exception of the Bible, probably no book has furnished so large an amount of literary material to English writers. "*Jack the Giant-Killer*" has its germ in the adventures of Geoffrey's "*Corineus.*" '

Some forty years before the publication of Geoffrey's far-famed "*History,*" there appeared in Italy one of the most popular books of the twelfth century, the famous "Code of Health" of the school of Salerno. This book was translated into almost every language of Europe, passing through 240 editions according to one writer, and was in the mouths of all doctors. Indeed, any physician unable to quote its wise sayings was looked upon with suspicion, and this popularity continued almost into the eighteenth century. This small work was translated into English verse in 1870, and copies of it may be found in the Boston and New York public libraries. In the Introduction it is stated that the fees of the Salerno doctors in the twelfth century, from patients who went to their offices or lived in town amounted to only *four cents* of our money, and from those who lived out of town *twenty-four cents,* and for this small sum the patient could call on the physician twice during the day and once at night!

Of the four most popular European epics of the twelfth century, "*Poem of the Cid,*" "*Chanson de Roland,*" "*Morte d'Arthur*" and the

"Nibelungunlied" there is still some doubt regarding the dates, but the latest critics lean towards the twelfth century as the time in which each was first put into manuscript form, or as they have come down to us. As judgment has already been passed by various writers on the literary merit of these epics, suffice to say that all of them are invaluable as giving, better than anything else we now have, a vivid picture of the stirring events, as well as the manners and customs in each of the countries which the poems represent.

The most famous law book written in this century was Richard Fitz-Neale's *"Dialogue of the Exchequer."* "It stands out as a unique book in the history of mediaeval England, perhaps in the history of mediaeval Europe."

Probably the most valuable historical works were the chronicles of William of Malmesbury, of Ordericus Vitalis and of William of Newburg.

The statement that the twelfth century is, above all, the age of the birth of modern romance cannot perhaps be better attested than by the mention of the three remarkable stories: *"Tristram and Iseult,"* and the Welsh stories of *"Kilhwch"* and *"Rhonabwy's Dream,"* the last two belonging to the Mabinogion translated by Lady Guest. The Cambridge *"History of English Literature"* says of *"Tristram and Iseult:"* "In tragic interest and pathos it is second to none of the great love-tales of the world." One of the finest ren-

derings of this story in English is by Swinburne in his *"Tristram of Lyonesse."**

Mr. Nutt says that 'with the exception of the finest tales of the *"Arabian Nights"* Kilhwch is the greatest romantic fairy tale the world has ever known.' And of *"Rhonabwy's Dream"* he says: "It is the crown and supreme exemplar of the special type of story-telling elaborated in Ireland and carried to perfection in Wales. Even more than in *"Kilhwch"* spirit and form alike are Irish." 'No story is better fitted to exemplify the peculiar quality of the Celtic genius, glamour, mysticism, natural magic combined with glowing and pellucid purity of color.' These two Welsh stories were probably written about 1175.

Another famous character in the Arthurian cycle is Percival, who figures even more prominently than Tristram. Nothing is more interesting than to trace the different stages of this fascinating story in the famous Abbey frescoes of the Boston Public Library. When we listen to Wagner's grand opera and take in the significance of his yet more masterly interpretation of the Grail story in his "Parsifal" we little realize how much we owe to the twelfth century, to its minstrels and scribes who first gave to the world in manuscript this peerless symbol of a life of renunciation. Although Wolfram von Eschenbach, from whom Wagner took so largely his version of this story, composed his *"Parzival"* within the first ten years of the thirteenth century, we can

* See Note 60.

nevertheless safely say that it was far more the product of the twelfth century than the thirteenth, for Wolfram himself wove much of the warp of his theme from Cretien de Troyes' version, adding the woof from his own fertile genius—exactly as Wagner did, borrowing from Wolfram many of the main points of his Drama, but proving his rare originality by adapting the poem to dramatic form and by giving his own interpretation of the great spiritual teachings of the story—the gradual growth of a soul, culminating in complete self-renunciation, really 'a type of Christ, the Saviour of the World.'

The last word has by no means yet been given regarding the Holy Grail, as well as many other famous stories of the twelfth century, for the literati of France, Germany and England are still at work searching for hitherto unfound or untranslated manuscripts explanatory of their origin.

One of the sweetest, simplest, purest little love stories ever produced in any age, is that of Aucassin and Nicolete, written about the middle of the twelfth century. Without any tragical episode or even sensational event, and full of twelfth century repetitions and conventionalities, the author —unknown to us—is nevertheless 'so keen yet kindly in his humor, so sympathetic even in his quaint, delicately mocking mirth,' that we are as much interested in him—probably an old, weary troubadour—as in the hero and heroine. All critics pronounce this a masterpiece, and have shown

their appreciation of its literary worth by translating it many times. This story is in alternate prose and verse, the only example of this kind of writing in the twelfth century, and only one manuscript of the romance is extant.

Of the many brilliant personalities of the late twelfth century there were none more original and interesting than Giraldus Cambrensis, the Welshman whose grandmother was the famous Nesta, the 'Helen of Wales.' A man of wide scholarship for his day, a great hater of all shams and tyranny, his wit and satire, his chivalrous courage, his brilliancy of speech and written thought made him the intimate friend of kings and statesmen, popes and prelates. Yet it must be confessed that his personal animosities sometimes led him into the use of coarse invectives with small regard to truthfulness. It is to his *"Topography of Ireland"* that we owe almost all our knowledge of mediaeval Ireland and especially that early period when she figured as the center of European culture.

We cannot close this brief mention of a few of the literary products of this remarkable period without giving a passing notice of one very famous Irish work—the great prose epic of *"Tain Bo Cuailnge"* or *"Cattle Raid of Cooly"* which, though first put into literary form as early as the eighth century, was not generally known to western Europe till the twelfth, when it was compiled and placed in that wonderful Irish manuscript, *"The Book of the Dun Cow."* 'This romance

ABBEY TOWERS OF CLUNY

constantly reminds one of the Iliad, though from a purely literary point of view it is not to be compared to Homer's work. It is full of dramatic force and humor and abounds in extravagantly grotesque passages. The unexpected and weird is always happening and the dialogues are remarkably brilliant and clever.' The scene is laid in northern Ireland before the Christian era and relates to a war waged by the Queen of Connaught and her husband with Conchobar, the King of Ulster, for the possession of the mystic brown bull of Cuailnge. Cuchulainn,* the Irish Achilles, and nephew of Conchobar, is the hero of the tale and is quite as interesting and far nobler in many of his deeds than the Greek Achilles. *"The Irish Achilles"* and *"Text Book of Irish Literature"* give a most interesting resumé of this great romance.

After summing up the somewhat conflicting opinions of the latest writers on that part of the middle ages including the twelfth century, we find that there should be a very decided distinction made between the first decade and the last of this century. A vastly greater dissemination of knowledge in general and of literature in particular, was characteristic of the later years of this period than of the first, so that, in spite of the still limited supply of books, and more or less remaining crudeness of learning from our view point, with often much ignorance among all classes as should be expected; in spite of the constant

*See note 61

recurrence of tragical events arising from the cruelty and even bestiality of the times, in spite of still continued oppression among the poor and despised, we may nevertheless close this chapter and book with the emphatic assertion, that 'the twelfth century Renaissance was an epoch in the history of European civilization not less momentous than the Reformation or the French Revolution.'

NOTES

NOTE 1. BERNARD'S BIRTH-DATE

Two dates are given for Bernard's birth, 1090 and 1091, the most common being the latter. It is quite certain that he was born either in December, 1090, or January, 1091.

NOTE 2. DIJON

The present Hotel-de-Ville, built on the site of the palace of the Dukes, still retains a few remains of the old palace which was erected between 1360-1460. The Tour-de-Bar represented on page belongs to the oldest part of the original palace. A part of two houses, standing today, dates back as far as the fifteenth century, but the only complete structure of the twelfth century left in the city is the church of St. Philibert, now used as a warehouse. The spire of its beautiful, many-sided tower is of a later date.

NOTE 3. ALISIA

There are still to be seen extensive ruins of this ancient town—the French Pompeii. In August, 1913, excavators unearthed the substructure of an immense church dating from the remote Middle Ages and containing Merovingian sarcophagi.

NOTE 4. LANGRES-CATHEDRAL, ARCH OF TRIUMPH

The interior of the cathedral Ste. Mammée at Langres is one of the most perfect examples of eleventh and early twelfth century Gothic to be found in France. "The austere serenity of the Byzantine style is here seen as it gradually unfolds and grows like a bud into the full bloom and airy grace of the later Gothic." (*Cathedrals of France*: W. E. Wilson.) The church has many Gallo-Roman statues, bas-reliefs, altars and fluted pilasters found in or near the town.

Bernard often preached in this church, and the pulpit which he occupied was preserved until the 1789 Revolution which destroyed so many treasures.

The "Arch of Triumph" at Langres, or Gallo-Romano gate is the only vestige of a Roman building in this city. This is one of the most famous among Roman remains in France, "evidently belonging to the age of Marcus Aurelius—about 160 A. D.—during which pagan art, literature and philosophy shone out with the last glow of expiring splendor." This marble gate consists of two arches ornamented with five Corinthian pilasters.

Langres was an important training center during the late war. Its population is about 6,400. It was on a field nearby that President Wilson reviewed the American troops, 10,000 men, on Christmas day, 1918.

NOTE 5. CHALONS-SUR-MARNE

There is a map in the Boston Public Library made by l'Abbé Sanson in 1656, giving the outlines of the Battle of Chalons, 451 A. D. According to this map the camp of Attila was eleven miles north of Chalons and the battlefield extended north and south from the vicinity of Rheims to Langres, and east and west from the vicinity of Soissons to the city of Chalons, including the diocese of Troyes.

NOTE 6. CHATILLON CASTLE

This particular chateau probably belonged to the later line of Burgundian dukes.

NOTE 7.

Slavery was almost entirely abolished in France in the latter part of the twelfth century, while the condition of the serfs and peasants was much improved. (Chereul)

NOTE 8. ALITHE'S MARRIAGE

It seems that the marriage of women in Europe was quite generally at about the age of fifteen during the middle ages, but girls were known to marry as early as thirteen. Matilda, daughter of Henry I of England,

was married to Henry V, Emperor of Germany, before reaching her twelfth year. The Emperor was forty years her senior. ("History of England" by Agnes Strickland, 1873 edition, volume I, pages 102, 104.)

NOTE 9. FULL LENGTH ENGRAVING OF ST. BERNARD

This is no likeness of him at all, but gives a good idea of the Cistercians' habit.

The only easily accessible authentic portrait of Bernard may be found on the frontispiece of *Vie de St. Bernard* by M. Vacandard.

NOTE 10. CISTERCIAN ORDER

Although the Cistercian Order entered into a period of decay in the 15th century, there were several attempts at reform, the most successful being that of the Trappists of the 17th century. This was maintained till the French Revolution. This famous order still exists in England, Ireland, Brazil, Canada and the United States, there being four monasteries in this country and five in Canada. At the present time the order has many scholars of wide reputation. (Cyclopaedia of Education: Paul Monroe.)

NOTE 11. BERNARD'S PIETY

Bernard's contemporaries called him "the Man of Love" because he so conspicuously sought it in himself, insisted on it in others. To quote Bernard's own words: "He alone truly loves God who loves Him because He is good in Himself, not because He has done good to the one loving."

NOTE 12. CLAIRVAUX AND CHAUMONT

The present little village of Clairvaux is only ten miles southeast of Bar-sur-Aube, and eighteen miles west of the old historic city of Chaumont, for a while the headquarters of the American army in the late war and where President Wilson had a grand reception. Chaumont has a population of 15,000 and is the capital of the Department of Haute-Marne.

NOTE 13. LEATHERN GARMENTS

Among the many curious prohibitions of the Cistercian Order, was the rule sternly denouncing the use of all furs or any garment made from the skin of an animal, also the provision that the cellarer, who was general manager of an entire monastery, controlling the outlying farms, looking after the guests and all the servants, as well as providing all the food for the community—that he should have a small appetite lest he should help himself too freely! If Bernard's brother Gerard, who was cellarer at Clairvaux, had as small an appetite as the abbot himself, he certainly filled the position most satisfactorily in that respect at least.

NOTE 14. SUGER

Bernard's Last Letter to Suger. In this letter to him Bernard wrote: "I greatly long to see you and shall do all in my power to come to you. I have loved you from the first, I will love you without end. I say with all confidence that I cannot lose you so loved to the end. He is not lost to me but he goes before, for my soul clings to his with a force which nothing can destroy, and is united by a bond which can never be broken." And sick as he was, Suger replies: "In my last moments you have given me comfort, but if I could have seen your angelic face but once before my departure I should depart with greater safety from this miserable world. My trust is not in works of righteousness, but in the mercy of God alone which He always shows to them that put their trust in Him. To Him with all my heart I long to return."

Suger's parentage was obscure. Although a charity student in the Abbey of St. Denis and three or four years younger than Prince Louis (later King Louis VI) the latter was much attracted to him, being a very bright boy and giving promise of great ability. Thus early in life a strong friendship sprung up between the plebian youth and the royal prince, and continued till death. Small in

stature and weak in physique, but endowed with aesthetic tastes, a statesman far in advance of his times, sound and practical, a fine mind and a magnanimous spirit, Suger did a great and lasting work of wide scope for his beloved country. According to the chronicles of St. Denis he died January, 1152, but other authorities give January, 1151.

NOTE 15. LOTHAIRE CROWNED EMPEROR

It was just at this time (1133) that Innocent II yielded to Emperor Lothaire for life and by feudal investiture the vast inheritance of Countess Matilda of Tuscany, while he nevertheless enacted a recognition of his own rights over them and of his sovereignty. This was a great point gained and the popes were to make use of it later. *The Popes and the Hohenstaufen*: Ugo Balzani, page 7.

NOTE 16. CHURCH OF SAN AMBROGIO

The church of San Ambrogio in Milan is one of the most remarkable and interesting in all Italy. It was founded by St. Ambrose in the 4th century. Here St. Augustine was baptized and the Te Deum was first recited. It was rebuilt by Archbishop Anspertus in the 9th century and remained comparatively unrestored until the latter part of the 12th century, a genuine Lombard style of architecture, and to this day it has retained many of the distinctive features of that century's rebuilding.

NOTE 17. BERNARD'S ENDING OF THE SEVEN YEARS' SCHISM

This statement has been contradicted, but after reading much on the subject I still hold to the opinion that Bernard did more towards ending this schism than any other single person.

NOTE 18. SICILY

It is difficult to believe that a nation once so cultivated should have so deteriorated. S. P. Scott in his *Moorish*

Empire in Europe (1904) says: "The Sicilian population from being one of the most cultivated has degenerated into the most ignorant of Catholic Europe. The suburbs of Palermo, once the abode of every science and every art, are now so infested with brigands that they cannot be traversed in safety by the traveller without the protection of an armed guard."

NOTE 19. LOUIS VI.

It is supposed that Louis VI's great corpulence—he was called Louis the Fat—was due to the attempt of his infamous stepmother, Bertrade, to poison him when a youth, for he never had good health after.

NOTE 20. VITRY

Only two miles from the site of this departed village is the modern Vitry-le-Francois, which was so conspicuous in the early part of the late war. It is ten miles, or thereabouts, south of Chalons. Louis VII quarreled with Pope Innocent II regarding his own right to choose a new archbishop for the church of Bourges. Theobald of Campagne took sides with the Pope and Louis consequently took Theobald's castle at Vitry, set fire to it and thereby burnt alive the peasants who had taken refuge in it.

NOTE 21. RIEVAULX

It is said that Rievaulx was the chief of all the Cistercian monasteries and still remains the most typical and perfect ruin of monastic England.

NOTE 22. ST. MALACHY

This is the same Malachy who rebuilt on so fine a scale the ancient and famous Abbey of Bangor that the Irish of his day marvelled at it.

NOTE 23. ABELARD'S HYMNS

All of these may be found in Cousin's complete edition of Abelard's writings. Archbishop Trench in his *Sacred*

Latin Poetry speaks of these hymns as being in general disappointing, but quotes one (in Latin), "St. Paul the Apostle," as being both pregnant and brief. Dr. Neale in his *Ancient and Modern Hymns* has translated one: "Oh what shall be, oh when shall be that Holy Sabbath Day," which is still used in the Catholic Church. Dr. Duffield gives in English one of Abelard's best poems: "Ornarunt terram germina," and speaks of it as full of grace and daintiness.

NOTE 24. HELOISE

Count de Bussy-Rabutin, a fine Latin critic of the seventeenth century, said that he never read more elegant Latin than is found in the writings of Heloise.

NOTE 25. SOISSONS

This was an important town even before the Christian era, and during the Merovingian rule it was the capital of France for 120 years. It has figured conspicuously in many of the most thrilling events in the history of France, and neither Paris nor Bordeaux, and probably no other city in France had in the 8th century any such elegant and spacious palaces as the Chateau d'Albatre, filled with alabaster statues and vases, rich tapestries, precious marbles, porphyries and jasper, tables inlaid with gold, silver and ivory, and, chief among all, the priceless chef-d'oeuvre of Phidias, "The Son of Niobe and His Teacher," which is now in the Louvre.

Even in the twelfth century Soissons retained many of its handsomest edifices, palaces and villas, four magnificent abbeys and beautiful churches, especially the Cathedral, but of all these scarcely one remains since the late war. The Cathedral, considered one of the gems of French Gothic architecture, is a wreck, while the vast and magnificent Abbey of St. Jean des Vignes is also a total ruin.

Several church councils convened at Soissons, and when at one of these Abelard's writings were condemned and burnt (1112) he was thrown into prison in the crypt

of the famous Abbey of St. Medard, but remained there only a short time.

NOTE 26. THE NOMINALISTS AND REALISTS

"In the reign of Louis VI of France began the religious controversy between the Nominalists and Realists, which continued for more than three centuries. Roscelin (1040-1120), canon of Compiegne, was founder of the Nominalists and William of Champeaux (1053-1129), Bernard of Clairvaux's intimate friend, was the founder of the Realists. Roscelin's most illustrious disciples were Abelard, William Occam, Hobbes, Locke, Bishop Berkeley, Condillac and Dugald Stenart. William of Champeaux's most distinguished followers were St. Anselm of Canterbury, Albertus Magnus, Thomas Aquinas and Duns Scotus." The substance of Roscelin's belief: "If the Father, Son and Holy Ghost are one God, they cannot be three distinct persons, but must simply be three names of the same being, as father, son, and husband are three distinct names of any man who has a family. The Realists, on the other hand, contend that the Divine Trinity consists of three distinct persons and that these three persons, nevertheless, constitute but one God. It will be readily seen that nominalism is another phase of the great Arian and Sabellian doctrines of whcih the present Socinians (Unitarians) are a branch."

Abelard, though educated by William of Champeaux, was the most brilliant advocate of the Nominalists. "Arius held Christ to be a human being only, and the Holy Ghost a something created by His power. Neither of these, therefore, is equal to God in nature and dignity. Sabellius taught that Christ (the word) and the Holy Spirit are no beings at all, but merely functions or operations of Deity, as light and heat are emanations of the sun." E. C. Brewer's *History of France,* page 44.)

NOTE 27. SPEYER CATHEDRAL

E. F. Henderson in his *History of Germany in the Middle Ages* says that Speyer (Spires) cathedral was the

first of the great triumphs of church architecture on German ground.

NOTE 28. CONRAD III.

Although Conrad III is often spoken of in history as the Emperor, he was never crowned as such and never even entered Italy, for he died (February 15th, 1152) just before the consummation of his planned expedition to Rome and his projected coronation there.

During this particular preaching tour in the cause of the Second Crusade, one day at Frankfort the crowd was so great in and around the Cathedral that King Conrad, who was a very tall, sturdy man, actually took Bernard in his arms and carried him some distance in order to prevent his being crushed by the surging throng.

NOTE 29. BERNARD'S HUMILITY

Yet at the same time he felt strongly that God was pleased to use him as an instrument in His hands of bringing about necessary reforms, and it was this thought which frequently caused him to be so persistent, especially in the case of the election of William, abbot of Fontaines Abbey, to the archbishopric of York.

NOTE 30. ROADS IN FRANCE, 12TH CENTURY

When we consider the fact that there were no good roads in France during the twelfth century, Bernard's endurance is all the more wonderful. Indeed, very few attempted to travel otherwise than on horseback, and there is very little mention of carriages or equipages of any kind.

It is true that Bernard in his anathema against the extravagances of the time, speaks of elegant equipages, but it would seem that he referred more particularly to the costly trappings of the horses, the elegant and bejewelled saddles, spurs, etc. The fine Roman roads which had extended throughout France in earlier times had been destroyed by numerous barbarian invasions.

NOTE 31. BERNARD'S WRITINGS

Another of Bernard's well-known treatises is that on the Incarnation, called *Missus Est.* This was translated into English in 1909 with an introduction by Rev. J. C. Hedley.

NOTE 32. VIRGIL

Although the old prejudice against classical and secular learning had, to a certain extent, survived the ages even down to the twelfth century in some of the monasteries, still the fame of Virgil was so great that under Hadrian and many of his successors the custom was practised, even among the emperors themselves, of inquiring the future by opening at random a volume of Virgil, and this custom continued popular throughout the middle ages. (*Virgil in the Middle Ages,* Comparetti, pages 47, 48.) Priscian's Grammar, the most popular school book in the middle ages, has nearly nine hundred quotations from Virgil and over seven hundred from the Aeneid. (*The Seven Liberal Arts,* Abelson.)

NOTE 33. LUTHER'S ESTIMATE OF BERNARD

Dr. Storrs says that Luther ranked Bernard next to Augustine and Ambrose as a theologian.

NOTE 34. CISTERCIAN CHURCHES

Although these churches were all very simple at first, having no carving, sculptured figures, stained glass, or frescoes, and ordinarily only an aisleless nave with a much developed transept and a wooden tower, such excessive plainness was soon modified, for this order in time produced great architects. This church belonging to Fountains' Abbey was one of the largest and most beautiful Cistercian structures of its day.

NOTE 35. CHURCH BUILDING

It would seem that as long as Bernard lived he largely controlled the matter of simplicity in Cistercian churches of his own country, but England, where this order be-

came so popular, was particularly prone to overstep the bounds of Cistercian law in this respect, and in time their churches became noted for their magnificence.

NOTE 36. THE CATHEDRAL OF ST. DENIS

The Cathedral of St. Denis, formerly the Benedictine Abbey Church. The representation of it as given, is, as I understand, exactly as it is at the present day.

NOTE 37. CHARTRES CATHEDRAL

"The three lancet windows of the western facade of Chartres Cathedral not only contain the oldest glass in this church, but is the most splendid color decoration the world ever saw. (*Mount St. Michel and Chartres*: Henry Adams, 1904.)

Mr. Porter in his *Mediaeval Architecture,* Vol. II, p. 134, has a very fine two paged picture of the three western doors of Chartres Cathedral, giving clearly the saintly expression of some of the faces. The larger picture of Chartres in this book represents a part of the southern portal of the transept. From left to right: Isaiah, Jeremiah, Simeon, John the Baptist and St. Peter. These doors are of the thirteenth century and not as famous as the twelfth century portals of the western facade.

NOTE 38. SENS CATHEDRAL

The western facade of Sens Cathedral.—There is such diversity of opinion regarding the exact date of this part of the cathedral, that it is not safe to state its existence at the time of the famous Council in 1140.

NOTE 39. CHURCH OF THE MAGDALEN IN VEZELAY

This western facade is in all probability substantially the same as in Bernard's day although the sculptures mentioned below may not have been there. The eleventh edition of the Britannica says that the signs of the Zodiac with sculptured figures of Christ and the Apostles are still seen in a perfect state of preservation on the main doorway of this facade; and these sculptures are among

the finest productions of the Burgundian Gothic School. Although the Benedictine Abbey was founded about 820 or 846 for nuns, they were not very long afterwards replaced by monks. It was destroyed by fire in 1120, but probably the present edifice was begun soon after this.

NOTE 40. QUEEN ELEANOR

Louis VII was only eighteen years old when he became king. His divorce from Eleanor was procured on the plea that Hugh Capet, from whom Louis was fifth in descent, had married a sister of the great-great-grandfather of Eleanor! Henry II of England was only nineteen years old when he married Eleanor—two years before he became king—and was fourteen years her junior.

In consequence of this divorce, and Eleanor's resuming her hereditary possessions as Duchess of Aquitaine, the crown of France lost more than half her territories and only six weeks later when she married Henry, Duke of Normandy and Count of Anjou, (later King Henry II of England) France also lost two of her most important provinces and Louis VII saw his broad domains pass into the hands of a rival and hostile family. (Jervis).

Queen Eleanor had two daughters by Louis VII and five sons and three daughters by Henry II.

NOTE 41. BORDEAUX

Bordeaux is one of the most ancient cities of France, for even in Hadrian's day, 130 A. D., it was the capital of Aquitania and became the seat of its best educational institutions.

In the 12th century it was one of the largest and most interesting cities of that country. Here stood the grand Roman Amphitheatre, even then nearly nine hundred years old, yet in an almost perfect state of preservation. In the midst of the city was the ducal residence, the Palais de l'Ombriere, more than one hundred and fifty years old; Sainte-Croix, a part of the Benedictine Abbey of Romanesque architecture, and the oldest church in

Bordeaux, was in all its eleventh and twelfth century glory, its western facade still comparatively fresh and beautiful. This facade as represented in the photograph is very similar, I think, to the one in Queen Eleanor's day, although the latest restoration is not highly spoken of. The Palais de l'Ombriere was founded in 982 A. D. and as late as the year 1800 was still standing. Henry II of England after his marriage to Eleanor often held court in this palace for it had been for years Eleanor's favorite residence. Their son, Richard the Lion-Hearted, often lodged here. The Romano-Byzantine catherdral of St. Andrea had not yet been changed into the Gothic style of later years and/the old church of St. Seurin, which has now entirely disappeared except its interesting crypt, was then in good condition, while ancient gateways and reminders of the Visigoths, Franks and the Saracens were on every hand. There is nothing really in the general appearance of the present cathedral of St. Andrea, ranking as one of the finest Gothic churches of southern France, and one of the largest in the whole country, which reminds us of the Romanesque basilica in which Bernard officiated during his visit here, yet there are some parts of the early twelfth century building which are still in existence,—some remains of the lower work of the western facade and some of the arches of the nave. It is, nevertheless, the most interesting church on the whole in Bordeaux because of its many historical associations, being on the site of one built as far back as the fourth century, and later one of the many re-built by Charlemagne.

It is supposed that both of Queen Eleanor's wedding ceremonies, which were of unexampled magnificence, took place in this cathedral of St. Andrea. Bordeaux was her birth-place and one of her favorite cities.

The ruins of the Amphitheatre are represented here as they are at the present day. It is called the Palais Gallien because it is supposed that this colosseum was erected during that emperor's reign—about 260 A. D.

The four arches, under which a street now runs, are still over sixty feet in height.

Bordeaux is noted for its beautiful boulevards and its theatre, "the Odeon and the Bourse of Paris melted into one," but the crowning glory of this city is its harbor—the water front being one of the finest in the world. It forms a crescent about three miles long, on the Garonne which just here is twice as wide as the Thames at London. On the left stretching far away is a perfect forest of masts and in the rear a wall of stately hotels, administrative buildings and warehouses. Some call it the most beautiful city of France.

NOTE 42. TWELFTH CENTURY BANQUETS

One writer says that the most sumptuous, official banquets of today are very tame and very modest compared to the great feasts of the middle ages. One of these feasts is described in Vol. 11, p. 137, *Troubadours at Home*: J. H. Smith.

NOTE 43. FONTEVRAULT

This Order is said to be the first in which a woman presided.

NOTE 44. RICHARD THE LION-HEARTED

"The prison song of Richard the Lion-Hearted which he wrote to his half-sister, Mary of Champagne, is one of the chief monuments of English literature. (*Mont St. Michel and Chartres.*) A man with the marks of true greatness, and had he lived longer might have done more for his country, but it is said that in all his life he did not spend a full twelve months in England. His dash, his venturesome and intrepid spirit, his impetuosity and exceeding bravery, as well as his remarkable strength, have made him the pet hero of every boy lover of history, but with so many evil, inherited traits of character which he apparently made no effort to conquer, his short life of forty-two years was stained with acts of cruelty, licentiousness and duplicity.

NOTE 45. INABILITY TO WRITE

Of course the inability to write in the middle ages was no such mark of ignorance as in the present day of innumerable books and printing presses. The scarcity of books and the toilsome task of writing everything by hand is sufficient explanation in general of this deficiency. Charlemagne could not write though he was a very learned man for his time, understanding Greek, speaking Latin as fluently as his own German language, and composing, it is said, a work on grammar.

NOTE 46. THOMAS À BECKET

When Thomas à Becket, then chancellor, was sent in 1158 by Henry II to France to negotiate a future marriage between Louis VII's baby daughter, Margaret, and King Henry's oldest son, aged two years, Becket had a fine opportunity to display his love for pageantry. This embassy to the court at Paris made a deep impression on the French as to the greatness of the English king. First in the procession came the servants and lackeys on foot in groups of a dozen or so, singing English songs, and behind them huntsmen leading dogs with greyhounds in leash. Then came six great covered wagons containing the baggage of Becket's household, and two other wagons loaded solely with the very best English ale, as a gift to the French. Each of these eight carts was drawn by five magnificent horses, each having its own groom, and each cart guarded by a great mastiff. Next came the pack horses with their drivers and on the back of each horse sat an ape or monkey! After these came the squires, some carrying the shields of their masters and leading their chargers, others bearing hawks and falcons; then the officers of the household and the knights and clerks, riding two by two, and finally Becket himself with his friends. During this entire visit in Paris the chancellor's extravagance and luxury in his household at the Temple became proverbial and at the end of the successful mission he distributed all his gold and silver

plate, his furs and gorgeous robes, horses and other magnificent appointments of his establishment in lavish profusion.

NOTE 47. EDUCATION

Yet we must always bear in mind that the exact status of education and literature in general in the 12th century or any part of the earlier middle ages, cannot now be properly estimated because of the great loss of so many invaluable books and manuscripts of that period.

NOTE 48. RHETORIC AND GRAMMAR

The first text-book in which the theory of letter-writing was laid down was the "Rationes Dictanti" of Alberic of Monte Cassino (11th century). This was epoch-making in the teaching of rhetoric in the middle ages and is fully described by Professor Abelson.

One of the most remarkable and popular readers of the 11th and 12th centuries was the "Fecundia Ratio" of Egbert the Frenchman, who finished the work about 1024. It was composed of nearly 2,500 lines of verse and was a text book of real value and scholarship. Mr. Abelson gives a full description of it.

NOTE 49. WALTER MAP

After lying unknown to English speaking readers for nearly 800 years, Walter Map's famous *De Nugis Curialium,* or *Courtiers' Trifles,* is at last given to the world in English dress. A strangely deferred achievement considering the fact that for years this writer has been a storm center of literary controversy, many contesting that he was the author of the original *Lancelot.*

Although of Welsh parentage, like his noted friend, Geraldus Cambrensis, Walter Map was born in England, educated in Paris, and became well-known as canon and precentor of Lincoln Cathedral, parson of a church in Gloucestershire, and later Archbishop of Oxford. He was also clerk of the royal household (on intimate terms with Henry II) and an itinerant judge. Narrow and

strong in his prejudices, he defied all Cistercians, regarding them as impostors, even the saintly Bernard of Clairvaux. Nevertheless, as a writer he is surpassingly entertaining, and his style so effective and graphic that as we read we easily bridge the 800 years chasm and imagine ourselves actually living in that remote age.

Of course, much that he has written must be taken with a grain of salt, especially his one-sided estimate of Henry II, but surely the entire work makes lively reading, gossipy and frivolous though it be, yet giving another insight into the peculiarities of the times, and emphasizing most impressively the author's strangely contradictory character, childish credulity, mingled with worldly wisdom. (*International Book Review*, p. 657, August, 1924.)

NOTE 50. EASTER RECKONING, ASTRONOMY, THE "ALMAGEST"

Easter reckoning included Greek system of notation, divisions of time, names of Greek and Roman months, names of planets, facts about the moon, the solstice, the equinox and similar astronomical phenomena.

Two works of the Venerable Bede (8th century) were among the most important astronomical textbooks of the 11th and 12th centuries. Mr. Abelson says that they are of intrinsic value even from the standpoint of modern criticism and fully reflect the great erudition of this remarkable medieval scholar. They contain in ample form all the material required for a complete mastery of the methods of Easter reckoning and of chronology. By adding to this considerable matter from the works of Pliny he really prepared a most useful treatise on astronomy and physical geography. It was very widely used for many centuries.

It seems that the earliest *complete* Latin version of the *Almagest* was made in Sicily between 1160 and 1165, and based directly upon the original Greek. This being the case, it was at least ten years earlier than Gerard of Cremona's translation from the Arabic in 1175.

NOTE 51. ARITHMETIC

In the first half of the 12th century, before the nine digits and the zero had been introduced, there was considerable advance in the knowledge of arithmetic. The use of the abacus was extended; complimentary division and columnal computation were common; the processes of addition, subtraction and multiplication were much like ours of the present day, but the process of division was very complicated. Roman duodecimal fractions were used.

NOTE 52. GEOMETRY

Through the greater part of the 12th century the best textbook on geometry was Gerbert's. He had come into possession of all the available scraps of geometrical knowledge (both practical and theoretical) then known, which consisted principally of Euclidian definitions, the theory of triangles and quadrilaterals and some theories of the circles and polygons, but as soon as Adelhart's translation from the Arabic into Latin of the *complete* Euclid was fairly before the public the geometrical works of Boethius and Gerbert were discarded in the universities.

NOTE 53. IGNORANCE OF KINGS AND ECCLESIASTICS

It is said that towards the end of the 10th century scarcely a person was to be found (outside of Spain) even in Rome who knew the first elements of letters. "King, baron and knight had a contempt for those who professed even an elementary knowledge of letters." And in the early part of the 11th century a noted church dignitary stated that some of his fellow archbishops did not know even the alphabet.

NOTE 54. FIRST ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATORY

The first astronomical observatory on record in Spain was erected by Geber the Moslem at Seville in 1196.

NOTE 55 ARABIC NOTATION AND THE ZERO

These nine numerals and the zero were brought from India by Harun Al Rashid about 790 A. D. to Bagdad. From here they were introduced by the Arab-Moors into Spain about the beginning of the ninth century and before the end of the tenth they were in common use among the Spanish mathematicians. These nine digits and the cipher were not in general use in Germany until the beginning of the 15th century, and not in England till sometime later.

NOTE 56. SCHOOLS OF PARIS

In the last quarter of the 12th century the most advanced schools of Paris were teaching not only the seven liberal arts but theology, medicine, civil and common law.

NOTE 57. GILBERT DE LA PORÉE

Bernard was present at the two councils of Paris and Rheims in 1147, 1148, when Gilbert de la Porée was tried but not condemned, and he was the only man whom St. Bernard unsuccessfully charged with heresy.

NOTE 58. JOHN OF SALISBURY

John of Salisbury, born in England of Saxon and not Norman race, author, diplomat and bishop, was educated in France, secretary to Archbishop of Canterbury and Thomas à Becket, and wrote most of his works in England, living there from 1148-1176. He wrote in Latin as did many of the authors of that day. From 1176 to 1180 he was bishop of Chartres, and was the most learned classical scholar of the 12th century.

NOTE 59. ADELAIDE OF CHAMPAGNE

Adelaide of Champagne (variously spelt Ala, Alix, Alice, Adele or Adela) was the niece of King Stephen of England, and was a noted beauty at the "magnificent court of her father," Theobald of Champagne, Bernard's intimate friend. Louis VII's children all being daugh-

ters, he was so anxious to have an heir to the throne that he married Adelaide only fifteen days after the death of his second wife, Constance.

NOTE 60. "TRISTRAM AND ISEULT"

This beautiful legend is undoubtedly of remote pagan and Celtic origin, Ireland, Wales, Cornwall and Brittany all claiming a share in it, while some writers find traces of an Aryan origin. Probably the story was preserved in detached songs before it was put into manuscript form. The earliest known version was in French; only fragments of this are now extant, but the entire legend was translated into German and these still exist in full. Judging not only from the number of manuscripts which have descended to us but from the familiarity of the legend throughout Europe even from Iceland to Spain and Italy, this charming and thoroughly moral story as given at least in some of the versions, may safely be called one of the most popular romances, even at the present day, which has come down from ancient times. Two of the most exquisite renderings of this legend are: *Romance of Tristram and Ysolt,* Robert S. Loomis (1923), and *Roman de Tristan et Iseut,* M. Joseph Bedier. M. Bedier's version has passed through so many editions that the date cannot be given.

NOTE 61. CUCHULAINN

Cuchulainn's stronghold was the "Thorn Fort" close to the present town of Dundalk. This fort as seen at the present day is simply a flat-topped mount surrounded by a trench about thirty feet deep with a steep outer rampart, and the whole now tree-covered. But two miles south of Dundalk is found one of the "standing stones" so common in Ireland, and tradition identifies it with the pillar to which Cuchulainn bound himself after receiving his death wound which had ripped his body open. Holding his bowels together with one hand, the brave warrior staggered to this pillar stone and bound himself

to it by his scarf so that even in death and defeat he might still stand upright.

NOTE 62. "GUILLAUM LE MARÉCHAL"

This long poem is unequalled for the pictures it presents of chivalrous life in France and England from the middle of the 12th century up to the early years of the 13th. It is the most accurate biographical poem in existence.—See list of works consulted.

NOTE 63.

Duke Robert of Normandy (the Squanderer) was such a spendthrift that he would pawn all his clothes and then remain in bed day after day for want of them.

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* See Note 62.

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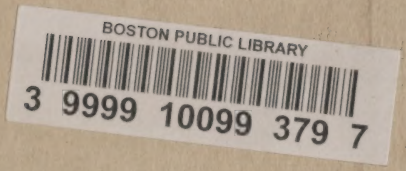
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